THE CHURCH AT HOME & ABROAD

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EDITED BY THE
REV. CUTHBERT LATTEY, S.J.

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REV. CUTHBERT LATTEY, S.J.

FIRST SERIES

Apostleship of Prayer

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PREFACE

THE Catholic Truth Society has undertaken the publication of a series of pamphlets on the Church at home and abroad, designed ultimately to form four volumes of seven pamphlets each, of which the first now appears. As will be seen, it deals with countries which differ from each other considerably, both in their general character and in their relation to the Church. The mixed character of the volumes will, so far as is possible, be maintained, so that in any one of them the reader will have a picture of the work and life of the Church under widely varying conditions.

The primary object of the series is to acquaint the reader with the facts, to help Catholic and non-Catholic to form a true idea of what the Church really is. It is not given to us to pierce the secrets of hearts, to behold that divine life of the soul which it is the supreme mission of the Church to foster: still, the Master's saying runs, "By their fruits ye shall know them," and Catholics have no reason to fear the test, provided it is applied in a fair spirit. The vastness of the organization to which they belong makes it difficult to do this; theirs is a world-religion, the only world-religion worthy of the name. Still, that love which they are bound to bear for those who, the whole world over, have one faith, one Lord, one baptism, who are of one heart and soul with themselves, who are one with them in the mystical Body of Christ, in a unity far closer than mind can conceive or words express—that love

and charity inevitably finds expression in the desire for a better knowledge and understanding of their fellow-believers, of their labours and sufferings, of their whole condition.

"Nay, the Church herself," says the Vatican Council (Sess. III. cap. 3), "by reason of her wonderful dissemination, her singular holiness and inexhaustible richness in all good things, by reason of her Catholic unity and invincible stability, is a great and continual motive for belief, and an irrefragable testimony to her own divine mission."

In an age when the spirit of national rivalry is turning Europe into an armed camp, and threatening to engulf her civilization, the Church demands obedience and loyalty from her sons in every nation without distinction. At a time when the right of every man to his own opinion is for so many the only article of faith, and when all is nonsense that they cannot see and touch and feel, the Church demands implicit faith in herself and in her mysteries. To peoples almost hysterical with democracy she presents herself with a form of government if anything even more centralized than of yore. To a world divided between money-making and pleasure-seeking she proposes sacrifice, poverty, mortification. And the answer which she meets immeasurably surpasses any obligation that she feels bound to impose. A beggar for the service of God and of His poor, she has taught her children that there are things worth more than money, and all the sacrifices that Catholics have made for their churches, their schools, and for a thousand charities bear eloquent witness that the lesson has gone home. Yet, like her Master, it is the giver that she desires, more than the gift; and in answer a multitude of her children face all manner of trouble and inconvenience in order to render that personal service which she

values before all. And still she asks for more—never indeed for herself, but for her Divine Spouse—and the response is a vast host of priests and religious, who consecrate themselves and all that they have and are to her and to Him, not looking for anything but the Cross here below, and to the Crucified, who Himself is their reward, exceeding great. Such is the "chill" one is supposed to catch from dogma!

These are facts which it is well both for Catholics and non-Catholics to understand, facts far more important and far more wonderful than any with which the head of the modern child is usually crammed, though often enough every effort is made to prevent him from getting at them. And, on the other hand, with a proper understanding of "the Church at home and abroad" many a cock-and-bull story and newspaper article will be laughed out of court, which is now thought good enough even for so-called educated readers. How often, for example, we are told that the Church is good enough for decadent "Latin" races, but that the "Teutonic" races cast her off once for all at the glorious "Reformation," and mean to have nothing more to do with her? Well, the "Latin" races have vastly more to say for themselves than we can put in here, and England might do worse than go to some even of the South American republics for instruction in religion and morality; but what are the facts about the "Teutons" themselves? Speaking quite generally, one may say that it is among them that the Church is most flourishing at the present day. A perusal of the pamphlets on Holland and Germany in the present volume will of itself go far to make this clear; but we have also to take into account the Catholic Swiss, the Austrians, the Flemings and the Luxemburgers, and the so-called Anglo-Saxon nations. Far be it

from us to belittle the numbers or the worth of the Irish in the British Empire or the United States—their numbers and their devotion to the Faith are alike beyond question—but whoever would explain all the Catholicism in these countries simply and solely by the presence of the Irish is wide of the mark; it will perhaps be enough to refer him to the witty pamphlet on *Reunion all Round*, lately published by an Anglican clergyman, the Rev. Ronald Knox, son of the Protestant Bishop of Manchester.

And yet it is hoped that something more will be got from this series besides mere information. There are lessons to be drawn from the data here presented, some of them with no immediate bearing on present events, others most practical and urgent in their teaching. Take, for instance, the difficult question of the relations of Church and State. The ideal, no doubt, is that a nation should be wholly and frankly Catholic, and its government also; but in modern times—to confine ourselves to modern times—several nations which have deserved the name of Catholic have had governments whose attitude towards the Church has been far from friendly. No doubt many of the monarchical politicians of Portugal, like the monarchical politicians of France before them, and to some extent like the monarchical politicians of Germany to-day, thought it wisdom itself to hamper and constrain the work of the Church among the people; but it escaped them that the fruit of that work would be correspondingly jejune, and that there was no other force in the nation capable of stemming the tide of socialism and revolution. It is sometimes easy for a government to paralyse much of the Church's activity, by compelling the Holy See, for fear of greater evils, to accept the nomination of subservient bishops, by enslaving the clergy both by nomination

and a paltry salary, by ejecting the religious, whose position is one of greater independence. Whether these schemes succeed or not depends largely on the courage and clear-sightedness of the Catholics themselves. We in this country, thanks mainly to the efforts of Bishop Milner and the Irish hierarchy in days gone by, are not greatly troubled by such questions; but still in these days, when State interference with the liberty of the subject is steadily on the increase, we cannot wholly put off the fear of bureaucratic persecution, from which indeed our schools are already suffering, and we may come to think, as Pope Leo XIII. in his encyclical *Libertas* expressly allows us to think, that at the present time it is better for the Church to be quite free from any connection with the State, if only she can secure the proper recognition of her inalienable rights.[1]

Again, as is pointed out in the pamphlet on Germany, the whole question of the cure of souls is coming to be studied in a far more methodical and scientific spirit, with a corresponding improvement in the results. The need of regular house-to-house visiting has long been recognized in this country, and the people are glad to see their priests; but there are countries where a systematic start has only lately been made, if at all. It seems possible that the public wearing of the *soutane* somewhat retards the movement, but the difficulty will doubtless be overcome in time. Further, it is coming to be more clearly understood that the quickest and most effective way to secure zealous parishioners, and for the parishioners themselves to gather strength and wisdom in the service of God, is to be found in regular retreats: the retreat movement is everywhere progressing. Social work, too, is being undertaken in a far more methodical way. The divine fire of

[1] *Cf.* Capello, *Institutiones Juris Publici Ecclesiastici*, p. 106.

charity, ever burning brightly within the Church, has always found in love of neighbour the natural (and supernatural) expression of the love of God; but it appears true to say that never were the results attained so rich in comparison to the effort put forth. There has been an elimination of wasteful and disjointed effort in favour of solidity and solidarity.

One rather alarming feature in the general outlook is the occasional apathy of Catholics when the programmes of politicians encroach upon the gravest interests of their religion. How much the French Church has suffered from this will perhaps never fully be realized. The vote is, in many countries, the Catholic's only method of effective defence for which politicians have the least regard, and if they are secure on that head nothing will move them. It would be idle to pretend that the Church in England has not itself suffered from this apathy. No doubt, with anti-Catholic interests largely dominating both the chief political parties, the situation is a difficult one. Still, it is not too late to unite on essential questions, and if the chief cause of dispute which divides our Catholics be happily removed, such unity may even yet be attained on matters of vital moment, and in that case a situation of grave peril may be faced without much fear. It is our schools, of course, that are in danger. If there is one thing more certain than another, it is that the one sure test of the prosperity of the Church, whether at home or abroad, is the prosperity of its educational institutions.

In conclusion, whoever will look about him and take thought will see that the Church is the only sure hope, not merely for religion, but for our European civilization. Politicians may pride themselves upon their efforts to keep it under, but the moral and intellectual anarchy that is being run

against it can have only one ending. Indeed, the great and increasing sums which they are sinking in unproductive armaments will themselves suffice to crush civilization, unless they learn true wisdom in time. In the main, the twentieth century threatens to be a century of clashing extremes: on the one hand the Church, the home of all that is good and true and beautiful; on the other hand, the negation of law, of religion, and of all else that makes for the nobility of man. The more quick-witted "Latin" nations could never find a *via media* anything but ridiculous: nowadays, the relentless force of logic has driven the sundering wedge even into the slower Teutons, and the tremendous significance of that saying of the Master once more appears, "He that is not with Me is against Me." It is a choice between Life and Death.

Such are some of the thoughts that occur to one upon such a review of "the Church at home and abroad," as a single mind can compass. They are not intended to forestall the judgement of those who have kindly consented to place their accurate knowledge of the several countries at the service of the series, nor yet the careful consideration of the reader. But it may prove helpful to have indicated some of the profound and more universal issues which should be borne in mind in the perusal of the individual pamphlets.

. . . . . .

The pamphlets herewith published were all written before the outbreak of war, as were also the foregoing words of this preface. Evidently the war will have an important bearing upon the history of the Church, but it is too early to attempt any forecast of its effects.

C. L.

October 1914.

THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND
(1560–1913)

By The Rev. Henry Grey Graham, M.A.

I.—THE PAST

In no country, perhaps, was Catholicism so completely uprooted and overthrown at the time of the Reformation as in Scotland; certainly in none were the measures taken for its destruction more deliberate, systematic, and prolonged. Whatever else may be said about the change of religion, it was at least thorough. There were no half measures; there was no pretence, as in England, at having Catholicism with a king for Pope instead of the Bishop of Rome. It was the avowed aim of the sectaries to obliterate the Catholic Church and everything that savoured of it from the memory of man; and once the Calvinistic Church was established upon the ruins of the ancient religion, the destruction of every "monument of idolatry" and the extirpation of all "idolaters" was the supreme object to which Parliamentary and ecclesiastical legislation—confiscation, banishment, excommunication, boycott, the rack and the rope—in short, the whole machinery of a barbarous penal code, was for a couple of centuries directed. That the Church of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern and St. Columba, of St. Margaret and King David, of Wallace and Bruce, managed to survive at all, is only another proof of the supernatural and indestructible vitality of the true faith.

In 1560 a petition was presented to a packed Parliament from the Protestants, containing the most atrocious libels upon the priesthood and demanding the abolition of Catholic doctrine and worship. Invited by Parliament to formulate the doctrines which they preferred instead, the preachers submitted the Calvinistic "Confession of Faith," which remains to this day the subordinate standard of the kirks. It was adopted, of course, by an overwhelming majority of those present; a mere handful, including probably the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane, voted against it. Whatever may be said as to the legality of the Parliament itself, its Acts regarding religion were certainly invalid, for it had been expressly provided by the Treaty of Edinburgh in the July previous that every matter connected with religion in Scotland should be settled by arrangement between the Sovereign and commissioners appointed by Parliament. The Catholic faith was thus done away, and at the same time Protestantism was set up, by an illegal and unconstitutional enactment.

The next step, naturally, was to rivet the new creed upon the country, and to make adherence to the old religion impossible. This was done by a further series of Acts in the same Parliament, for the abolition of "the jurisdictioun and authoritie of the Bischope of Rome, called the Paip," for the "abolition of idolatrie and all actis contrair to the Confession of Faith," and for the "abolitioun of the Messe." This last Act inflicted upon all who should either celebrate or assist at Mass "confiscatioun of all thair goods and puneissing of thair bodies" for the first offence, banishment for the second, and death for the third; and "all sheriffs, stewarts, baillies, and their deputes, provosts and baillies of

boroughs, and all other judges" were enjoined to make diligent search and inquisition for any offenders, to "tak and apprehend thame, to the effect that the panis above written may be execut upoun thame." It only remained now to render useless the buildings which sheltered "Papistrie": hence the Three Estates decreed that all the churches and religious houses should be destroyed. No second word of command was required. At once there ensued a devastation of religious buildings and their treasures unparalleled in any civilized country. The doings of the anti-clericals in France and Portugal are but a pale imitation. The ruins to be seen throughout Scotland to-day are a silent but eloquent witness of how well the wreckers did their work. Everyone took part in it, from the highest to the lowest. The cathedrals, some of them of exquisite beauty, the monasteries, abbeys, and churches were pulled down or defaced; their altars, statues, and windows smashed or mutilated. Their libraries, containing registers, books, records, and manuscripts of priceless historical value and rare workmanship, were consigned to the flames. Shrines were pillaged, their treasures stolen, and the relics of the saints burned or scattered to the winds. The very sepulchres of the dead, among them those of Scottish kings and queens and heroes, were wrecked. When everything of value had been removed, the structures were left to the ravages of weather and time, and to the use of all and sundry as a quarry. To sum up in the words of Mr Hosack (*Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers*, vol. i. p. 60), "There is nothing in all history to be compared to this exhibition of fanatical fury. No invading army ever committed such merciless havoc in the territory of an enemy. No people ever before or since deliberately destroyed, with all the formalities of law, the monuments of art and industry bequeathed

to them by their own ancestors." As for the spoil, which was the main thing, the nobles got the most of it; the ministers grumbled because they got so little.

According to Welsh (*History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, pp. 327 ff.), previous to the Reformation the total number of clergy of all orders, including two archbishops (St. Andrews and Glasgow) and eleven bishops, was about 1200, with 950 parishes and 1000 churches. The number of abbots, monks, friars, and religious men was probably about 1600; nuns might be about 200; and monasteries, convents, and religious houses together numbered about 200. To the everlasting honour of the bishops it should be recorded that, so far as is known, only one of them apostatized.[1] What became of all the clergy it is difficult exactly to say. Some certainly apostatized, married, and became preachers. A great number were banished; many fled to the Continent and to England; some returned to the world and lived as laymen; a certain number remained faithful, and, disguised in various characters, traversed the country, heroically ministering to the scattered and persecuted Catholics.

It would be clearly impossible in the space at our disposal to describe in any detail the various forms of persecution in force against Catholics till relief came at the end of the eighteenth century. As time went on the laws increased in number and ferocity, until at length there existed a penal code to find a parallel to which we must go back to the persecutions of the early Christians. A summary of the penal statutes as they stood in the reign of George III. is to be found in Lord Kames's

[1] Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney. Alex. Gordon was elected by the Chapter as Bishop of Glasgow, and actually received the pallium, but he was never consecrated (Primrose, *Mediæval Glasgow*, p. 205).

Statute Law Abridged. To begin with, war to the knife was declared against all "Jesuits, seminary priests, and trafficking Papists." The most usual punishment was confiscation, imprisonment, or exile. All Jesuits and seminary priests were to be pursued, apprehended, and punished with death or forfeiture of goods. Later, a premium of 500 merks was offered to anyone discovering such persons, and these were banished for ever, under penalty of death if they returned. Rigorous search was made for Catholics in each parish, and they were obliged to leave the kingdom unless they subscribed the Confession of Faith. Lists were drawn up of those who refused to conform to the new worship or attend the Lord's Supper, or who had conferred Catholic baptism or celebrated marriage according to the Catholic rite ; and magistrates were to take diligence to punish all such with the statutory penalties. To practise any part of the Catholic faith, whether openly or secretly, to say Mass or to hear it, to go to Confession, to entertain or harbour Jesuits or priests, to converse or hold intercourse with excommunicated persons, were all heinous offences to be visited with death or loss of worldly goods, or fine or imprisonment or perpetual banishment, as the case might be. Importers of Catholic books were to be put in prison and all such books destroyed. Bands of soldiers traversed the country, setting fire to the cornfields of Catholics, or reaping them in the King's name, and driving off their flocks and herds ; turning the Catholics out of house and home, whether men or little children or women in the throes of childbirth, and extinguishing the fire in the hearth. Children of Catholics, especially of the nobility, were taken to be educated as Protestants at the parents' expense. No Catholic could acquire real property, or inherit estates, unless he renounced

his faith; or hold any public office or position; or teach any art or science; or be a governor, professor, schoolmaster, tutor, or factor; or even be employed as a domestic servant by any Protestant.

The ministers were ever the chief persecutors. They thundered from their pulpits against Papists, and inflamed the people to root them out, declaring it to be a sin against God and His Kirk to show them the slightest toleration. General Assemblies pronounced excommunication against all recusants; Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions sought them out; and once a person came under the terrible anathema, thenceforth existence for him was a living martyrdom. We may suitably quote here the well-known words of Mr. P. Fraser Tytler in his *History of Scotland* (vol. ix. p. 65): "The permission of even an individual case of Catholic worship, however secret; the attendance of a solitary person at even one Mass, in the remotest corner of the land, at the dead hour of night, in the most secluded chamber, and where none could enter but such as knelt before the altar for conscience sake, and in all sincerity of soul; such worship and its toleration for an hour was considered an open encouragement of antichrist and idolatry. To extinguish the Mass for ever, to compel its supporters to embrace what the Kirk considered to be the purity of Presbyterian truth, and this under the penalty of life and limb, or in its mildest form, of treason, banishment, and forfeiture, was considered not merely praiseworthy, but a point of high religious duty; and the whole apparatus of the Kirk, the whole inquisitorial machinery of detection and persecution, was brought to bear upon the accomplishment of these great ends."

It has been sometimes said that the Scottish Reformers cannot be accused of putting Catholics to death for their religious opinions. We may admit

that very often the capital sentence was commuted into banishment, or the condemned man languished and died in prison; but that some were executed we know for certain from historical records, and there may have been, and probably were, other cases which are not related. Not to speak of Archbishop John Hamilton of St. Andrews, the last pre-Reformation primate, who was hanged in his pontifical vestments at Stirling in 1571, we know of at least a dozen who suffered death for their religion. A not uncommon form of sport among the Calvinists was to take the priest's vestments, chalice, Missal, and the rest, and make a public bonfire of them. If they could get the priest as well, so much the better. We read of four priests at Dunblane, for example, in 1569, being bound to the market cross with their vestments and chalices in derision, "where the people cast eggs and other villany at their faces by the space of an hour, and thereafter their vestments and chalices were burnt to ashes" (*Historie of King James the Sext*, p. 66). Knox in his *History* gloats over similar treatment to a priest, Carvet, at Edinburgh in 1565, who was "served with his Easter egges" by boys and others for several hours at the Market Cross. In 1607 there was another example of the same (Calderwood, *History*, quoted by Chambers, *Dom. Ann.*, i. 390). These may well be accounted Confessors for the Faith. So late as 1704, in Edinburgh, the entertainment was varied by dressing up the public hangman in the richest vestments to be found, and, placing in his one hand a crucifix and in the other a chalice, making a mock procession through the streets; after which the whole paraphernalia were solemnly burned at the Cross.

As a consequence of all this persecution and tyranny, it seems that many Catholics felt themselves

justified in exteriorly conforming to the Presbyterian worship, while in their hearts they detested it. "Taking their place at the Table of Destruction," we read in Father Forbes Leith's *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics* (vol. i. p. 18), "and lifting the bread to their lips, they secretly let it fall to the ground; and taking the cup of the Calvinists in their hands made believe to drink, and they did not feel that in doing this they were doing anything very wrong." With the increase of the number of priests and faithful, however, and under a stricter discipline, this weakness and dissimulation was gradually overcome, "so that at last those who attended the preaching of the heretics were held not to be Catholics at all, and there were far fewer who partook, in reality or in semblance, of the Calvinist Supper" (p. 19).

The life of the priests who, in the guise of soldiers and sailors, teachers, physicians, musicians, apothecaries, or commercial men, travelled hither and thither ministering to the Catholic remnant, was, as may well be imagined, one of terrible hardship and suffering. Besides the few Scotch priests, there were from time to time exiled priests from England, priests from Ireland, Benedictines, Franciscans, Lazarists, Augustinians, and above all Jesuits, engaged in this heroic work.[1] Numbers of the Catholic nobility, especially in the north, as, for example, those of the houses of Huntly and Gordon, afforded shelter to the priests and opportunities to the faithful in the district of receiving the sacraments —although by doing so they were liable to the severest penalties. Hunted and harried like wild animals, amid winter snow and through trackless

[1] The Scotch colleges at Paris, Rome (1600), Douai, and the Scoto-German monasteries, notably that of Ratisbon, were nurseries for the training of labourers on the mission; the college at Madrid, founded 1627, was translated to Valladolid 1771.

mountains, and over raging torrents ; destitute of the commonest necessaries of life, forced to lie down at night, wearied and starving, among horses or cattle, or upon the hard, bare earth or on the open heather ; in perils from every quarter, "in labour and painfulness, in much watchings, in hunger and thirst, in fastings, in cold and nakedness," the work of the priest was truly apostolic. "We live," says Father Robert Abercromby, S.J. (Forbes Leith's *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, pp. 226–7), "in caves, in secret and unfrequented places, perpetually moving from place to place like the gipsies, and we never lodge two nights in the same locality, for fear of falling into the hands of the enemy. Spies and officers are posted at all the inns, and in every parish, to discover our whereabouts, and give us up to the authorities. . . . This name [Papist] is more odious and abominable than that of Turk, Saracen, or Jew. It is worse than calling a man a heathen, or a member of the vilest sect on earth. We are consequently obliged to travel by night ; or if we do so in the daytime, we have to abandon the high roads and ordinary routes, and proceed across rough and pathless ground, or over the hills where we are sure not to meet anyone. We dare not enter an inn except after dark, nor leave it again until the next night comes on." "My food," says Father Robert Seton, S.J. (*Memoirs*, vol. ii. pp. 198–9), "was barley bread, my drink cold water, my bed the hard ground, or a little chaff or straw. A barn full of cracks and chinks was my bedroom, study, and oratory, and so for the most part it is still" (1702). "Hiding in rocks and caves by day and travelling by night, and stealing secretly into Catholic houses to console the inmates with the sacraments of the Church, not unfrequently while they were engaged in celebrating the sacred mysteries the soldiers would break in upon them,

and there was no time to escape except into vaults and hiding places ; and sometimes they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners to the soldiers. Then would the sacred furniture of the altar be seized by the rude hands of the soldiery, and put to profane use, and the soldiers, dressing themselves up in the sacerdotal vestments, would parade the streets of the town, publicly deriding our sacred mysteries ; and next, pressing their swords or pistols to the breasts of the Catholics, they would compel them to betray the whereabouts of the priests, or to renounce their faith, or attend the temples of the heretics and take part in their worship. If they refused, all their household goods were plundered and themselves thrown into prison" (pp. 55–6). Such is a slight glimpse of the difficulties under which the missionaries kept alive the faith in Scotland—baptizing, instructing, healing feuds, setting right marriages, consoling the faithful, and reconciling the lapsed. No wonder that at times they wrote expressing the fear that, unless a miracle happened, the last spark of Catholicity would speedily be extinguished.

In spite of all, however, the Church was still strong in certain parts of Scotland, and we read from time to time of great numbers of conversions. In 1590, for example, a paper drawn up by Lord Burghley (quoted by Tytler) states that all the northern part of the kingdom, as well as Wigtown and Nithsdale, were "either wholly or for the greater part in the interest of the Roman Catholic party, commanded mostly by noblemen who secretly adhered to that faith, and directed in their movements by Jesuits and priests, who were concealed in various parts of the country, especially in Angus." In 1592 thirteen of the nobility were Catholic. Mass was celebrated in Lincluden Church in 1585,

and in Elgin Cathedral so late as 1594. The frequent lamentations of the Kirk on the "increase of Papistrie," the "flocking home of Jesuits and Papists," "the defection of the multitude from the truth," the forsaken condition of the Presbyterian churches, and the exertions of General Assemblies and Presbyteries to have the laws "duly executed against all Jesuits, seminarie priests, idolaters and maintainers thereof," testify to the constant growth and vigour of the old faith. Stringent measures had to be taken to try and prevent people wearing "*Agnus Dei* beads," crosses, and crucifixes, resorting to holy wells, going on pilgrimages, and indulging in other reprehensible practices of superstition. Public calamities were attributed to Papistry : priests were constantly being haled before the magistrates, and either imprisoned or forced to leave the country. Soldiers searched everywhere for recusants, and lists of all such were drawn up and reported.

Amidst all the persecution, the missionaries were greatly consoled by the edifying piety and courage of many Catholics of all ranks, and the zeal of the converts. The houses of the Catholic nobility in which the Fathers found refuge are said (1657) to have "resembled religious houses" at the seasons for confession and communion. Another (1663) writes of "noblemen who wear hair shirts at their sports and in the riding school, and even when out hunting ; of delicate women and tender maidens who mortify themselves with the hair shirt and the discipline ; of young men who deprive themselves of their clothing to clothe Christ and His poor ; of men of rank, and they not few in number, who, to heal the wounds, ulcers, and diseases of the poor, supply themselves with medicines and plasters, which they apply with their own hands, with charity equal to their skill" (Forbes Leith, *Memoirs*, vol. ii.

p. 89). The fearless practice of every Christian virtue seen in the lives of the Catholics, in the face of fearful trials, produced a marked impression upon the Calvinists, who were often driven to acknowledge the superiority of the Catholic religion; whilst, on the other hand, those who laid violent hands on Catholic images and emblems were often visited, and that quickly, with some sudden and mysterious punishment.

At various periods, with the accession of a new sovereign, Catholics were led to entertain hopes of better treatment; but they were invariably doomed to disappointment, for no sooner did rumours of toleration get abroad than Scotch bigotry was aroused to fresh bitterness, and influence was brought to bear, through the Privy Council, for a renewal of persecution.

If the estimate of Mgr. Malvasia, Papal Nuncio at Brussels, for the year 1596 is correct, there were not more than four or five priests to be found in the whole of Scotland. As will be evident, anything like ecclesiastical organization of the few scattered priests was at first impossible. Churches, of course, there were none; not till the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were chapels (as at St. Ninian's, Tynet, and Presholme, all in the "Papistical country" of the Enzie of Banffshire) built or rebuilt for Catholic worship. Tynet was erected originally by the Duke of Gordon in the form of a sheep-cote to disarm suspicion. In 1598 the clergy were placed under successive archpriests for England, and later under English vicars apostolic; but this plan did not work well, and in 1653 William Ballantyne, a convert, was nominated by Propaganda as Prefect over the secular clergy, who were but a half a dozen (the regular clergy were more numerous). In 1662 he was succeeded by Alexander Winster or Dunbar (priests frequently

assumed a second name for safety). In 1681 we have interesting statistics from the report of Father Alexander Leslie, who had been instructed by the Congregation of Propaganda to make a visitation of the mission (he was caught and imprisoned for two years). He estimated the total number of communicants at 14,000, of whom some 12,000 were in the Highlands and Islands alone. Galloway had 550; Glasgow and neighbourhood, 50; Forfarshire and Kincardineshire, 72; Aberdeenshire, 450; Banffshire, 1000; and Moray, 28. In 1694 the oft-expressed desire of the Scottish clergy was gratified by the appointment of Thomas Nicolson as Vicar Apostolic with episcopal powers. Bishop Nicolson had been a Protestant, and a Professor in Glasgow University, and was at this time confessor to a religious community in Dunkirk. A report by him to Propaganda in 1698 states that there were then 10 Jesuits, 4 Benedictines, and 23 secular priests at work on the mission. The Sacrament of Confirmation was thus restored, but to administer it to the thousands of Catholics scattered here and there was a heroic undertaking, in accomplishing which many hardships and thrilling adventures, not omitting imprisonment, were endured by Bishop Nicolson and his successors. In 1712 there was founded the little seminary of Scalan, Glenlivat, and Catholic schools began to be established. Nicolson (d. 1718) was succeeded by Bishops Gordon and Wallace (formerly an Episcopalian minister). In 1731 Bishop Hugh Macdonald was set as Vicar Apostolic over the Highland division of Scotland, and Bishop Gordon and his coadjutor, Bishop Alexander Smith, took similar charge of the Lowlands. It was Bishop Macdonald who, though personally disapproving of the rising at that time, blessed the standard of Prince Charlie, the young Pretender, at

Glenfinnan in 1745, and appointed chaplains to the Jacobite army. He was afterwards apprehended and sentenced to banishment for life, but he never seems to have left Scotland (d. 1773). The two Jacobite risings, it may be remarked in passing, had disastrous consequences for the Catholics and their priests, and imprisonment and banishment continued to be the order of the day. The reports to Rome by the ecclesiastical superiors of the Scotch mission (to be found in the works of Bellesheim and Forbes Leith) give painful accounts of the remorseless persecution everywhere waged against the faith. To make matters worse, a certain want of harmony crept in among the clergy, and also, in some quarters, a marked tendency towards Jansenism. A check to the latter evil, however, was given in 1738 by Pope Clement XII., who required all Scottish missionaries to subscribe a formula repudiating Jansenistic heresies.

In 1763, according to the statement of Abbé MacPherson (Agent of the Scottish Bishops in Rome, and Rector of the Scots College there), Bishop Smith reckoned the number of communicants for the Lowland district at 6299, with 11 secular clergy, 6 Jesuits, and 1 Benedictine; whilst the Highland vicariate had more than double that number of people, with a third the number of priests. The total population of Scotland at this time might be about 1,000,000. The numbers of the faithful were undoubtedly much diminished by their association with the enterprises of the old and the young Pretender, and also by the action of sundry Highland lairds, who cleared out Catholic tenants on their refusal to forsake their religion. Macdonald of Boisdale (South Uist) thus forced 200 families to emigrate to America.

In 1769 there was consecrated at Scalan, as

Bishop Coadjutor to Grant, a man whose memory Catholics in Scotland regard with a peculiar veneration; we mean, of course, George Hay, the centenary of whose death was recently celebrated with becoming solemnity at Fort Augustus. Born of Protestant parents, trained for the medical profession, imprisoned in London as a rebel, converted there through the reading of Catholic books, and ordained in Rome in 1758, Hay laboured, first as priest and then as bishop, for the Church in Scotland for nearly fifty years with indefatigable zeal and indomitable perseverance—instructing and edifying the faithful by his writings, pleading their interests in influential quarters, obtaining financial help for the mission, improving the position of the Scots colleges abroad, besides fulfilling all the functions of a bishop till infirmity forced him into retirement. He had the Scalan seminary transferred to Aquhorties in Aberdeenshire. In 1780 Bishop Geddes became his coadjutor. Hay lived through some of the worst days of persecution, notably those of the anti-Relief Bill riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1779, when he saw his own house and the church burned by the mob. He died, however, at the age of 83, before the Emancipation Act (1829)—an Act which, passed under the guidance of Wellington and Peel in spite of organized and bitter opposition both in Parliament and in the country, repealed the worst of the penal enactments against the Catholic Church.

With the advent of emancipation a brighter day dawned for Catholicity in Scotland. The country was now (1827) partitioned into three districts—the Eastern, Western, and Northern—ruled by a succession of vicars apostolic, notable among whom were Bishops Gillis, Scott, Murdoch, Gray, and Kyle. Churches and schools were built, as oppor-

tunity and means allowed. Religious communities were introduced. In 1829 the small seminary at Aquhorties gave place to the large college of St. Mary's, on the estate of Blairs in Kincardineshire, which had been gifted to the Church by Mr. John Menzies of Pitfodels. The increase in the Catholic population may be gathered from the fact that at this period it amounted to about 1400 in Edinburgh and Leith, to 25,000 in Glasgow, and to 70,000 in the whole of the country, with 4 bishops, 50 priests, 31 churches, and 20 schools. This advance must be in the main attributed to the influx of Irish Catholics who fled from the manifold distress which prevailed in their own land; and to them principally is owing the marvellous growth of the Catholic population up to the present time. In 1878 Pope Leo XIII. issued a Bull restoring the Scottish hierarchy; and thus, after the lapse of more than three centuries, Scotland once more assumed its normal place in the organization of the Catholic Church. The first Metropolitan was Archbishop John Strain, and the first Archbishop of Glasgow was Charles Eyre, whose munificent benefactions to the Church are known to all.

II.—THE PRESENT

The Church in Scotland may now be said to enjoy complete freedom in all matters essential to its well-being. There are indeed penal Acts on the Statute Book still capable of being used against us, but it is hardly conceivable they ever will be; they are to all intents and purposes a dead letter, and gradually even resurrection will become impossible. Bigotry and prejudice, however, there is in abundance.

Education

But there is one sphere in which Catholics undoubtedly suffer much injustice, namely, that of education. In 1872 the system of Board Schools came into existence, according to which in every parish, schools under the Board, and those alone, are supported out of the rates. These schools are *nominally* public schools, open to children and teachers of all denominations, with a conscience clause safeguarding the child from any disability on account of its religion. But with a very few exceptions (limited to isolated cases in the Highlands and Islands and two special schools in Glasgow) they are in reality Protestant, indeed Presbyterian schools; for by the will of the Boards, whose members are either wholly or predominantly Protestant, the teachers are also Protestant, the Presbyterian Bible and Catechism are taught during the religious hour, and the whole atmosphere is Protestant. To these schools it is clear that Catholics cannot in conscience send their children (any more than Protestants could send theirs to Catholic schools); and hence they have been obliged to build schools of their own (called Voluntary), with Catholic teachers and under Catholic management. These, indeed, are recognized and inspected by Government, and earn Government grants; but they receive nothing out of the public rates. The position therefore is that (1) Catholics are forced to pay school rates, not one penny of which they share; and (2) they are obliged in addition to supply the money wherewith to provide and equip schools of their own. The flagrant injustice of this treatment was well described by Mgr. Mackintosh, Coadjutor Archbishop of Glasgow, in his speech at the Catholic Truth Society meeting at Edinburgh in 1912 (which

was issued as a C.T.S. pamphlet). After stating that Catholics have provided accommodation for over 100,000 children at an expenditure, out of their own funds, of at least £1,000,000, His Grace goes on: "For the support of these schools we have to depend exclusively on Government grants, and have to make up ourselves whatever deficiency there may be. While the board schools draw for their support from the rates a sum equivalent to 27s. 6d. per scholar, we obtain from that source not one penny. The only set-off we have against that large subsidy is a trifling aid grant of 3s. per scholar, which corresponds to the aid grant given to necessitous board schools. Our schools are thus penalized to the extent of 24s. 6d. per scholar; in other words, we are required to provide schools of equal efficiency and the same standard of education, and we have 24s. 6d. per scholar, or £100,000 per annum, less to do it with. We do our best to make good this deficiency out of our own pockets, but it is quite impossible for us to provide it all, and our schools, and especially our teachers, have to suffer." With the increasing demands of the Education Department, involving extra expense against which even School Boards, with an unlimited public purse to draw upon, are protesting, the burden for Catholic schools threatens to become intolerable.

Simply put, then, the position is that one class of schools, which are Protestant and Presbyterian, have been selected and endowed lavishly out of the rates; whilst another class of schools, which are Catholic, doing exactly the same work for the education of children, have been penalized and excluded from any share in the rates. That this places Catholics at a serious disadvantage in regard to the building and furnishing of schools, the remuneration of teachers, and educational opportuni-

ties for their children, will be at once apparent. When School Boards say to us, "Come into our schools, public schools, the doors are open," we reply, "The doors are open for us only at the cost of the sacrifice of our children's faith. We fail to see why schools which suit the religion of only one set of ratepayers should be subsidized and no others." We can therefore never rest satisfied until Voluntary schools have been placed as of right on an exact equality with those of the School Board, and all children shall enjoy the same educational opportunities, along with perfect freedom to be taught the religious faith which the parents desire.

Where possible, a church has a school connected with it. This is the ideal aimed at, but in districts where Catholics are few and scattered, and unable to support a school of their own, the children are obliged to attend the board school, without, of course, attending the religious lessons. The priest makes up for this as far as possible by instructing them on Sunday and at other times. In some places the faithful have to be content meanwhile with a building which serves at once as chapel and school. In the diocese of Argyll and the Isles there is the curious phenomenon of twenty-five board schools under Catholic teachers (for in these parishes there are few Protestants); and this is quite in accordance with the Scotch educational system, which permits the Board to teach any religion it likes. But in the vast majority of cases the Catholic church has a school connected with it, under the management of the clergy and staffed by Catholic teachers. A certain portion of time (an hour or so), outside the hours prescribed by the Code for purely secular work, is devoted each day to religious instruction by the teachers. The clergy also go in and catechize, and prepare the children

for the sacraments. A syllabus of religious instruction is followed, and diocesan inspectors examine the school from time to time. For the most part the teachers are lay, but members of various religious orders are also employed. Teachers are trained for their work at various centres, the largest of which is the Training College, Dowanhill, Glasgow, under the Sisters of Notre Dame, and an increasing number have been taking degrees at the universities. The higher education of children is provided for by higher and secondary schools and colleges, among which may be mentioned St. Aloysius' College, Glasgow (Jesuit), St. Mungo's Academy, Glasgow, and St. Joseph's College, Dumfries (both Marist), and Holy Cross Academy, Edinburgh. There are numerous convent schools; and the less fortunate among the rising generation are accommodated in reformatories, industrial schools, orphanages, children's refuges, homes for destitute children, etc., all under Catholic management. The latest statistics as to elementary schools show 214 buildings and 265 departments; in 1912, average attendance was nearly 86,000. As illustrations of the number of children presented at religious examinations, we may quote the two dioceses for which figures are available in 1913: Glasgow, 66,761; and Galloway, 3285.

Bishops, Priests, and Religious

The Scottish hierarchy as restored in 1878 is composed of two archbishops and four bishops—namely, Edinburgh and St. Andrews (archbishop and metropolitan), with the four suffragan sees of Aberdeen, Argyll and the Isles, Dunkeld, and Galloway; together with Glasgow, an archdiocese immediately subject to the Holy See. The ancient

cathedrals are in the hands of the (Presbyterian) Established Church ; as are also the ancient church revenues, the tithes or teinds. With the election of the bishops no secular authority has anything whatsoever to do. On a vacancy, the canons of the cathedral chapter (and every diocese now has its chapter) draw up a list of three names to be submitted to the bishops, who forward them to Rome along with their own nomination, which may or may not be that of the canons. The Sovereign Pontiff may then select any or none of the names submitted, as he pleases.

Scotland does not yet of itself produce a sufficient number of priests to work its missions ; hence a considerable number are lent from Ireland, but they are liable to be recalled whenever they are required by their own bishop. Priests destined permanently for the Scotch mission take a mission oath while at college, which binds them to serve under their bishop. Blairs College receives boys who may feel themselves called to the priesthood so soon as they have completed their school education. Thence they pass either to St. Peter's Seminary, near Glasgow (founded by the late Archbishop Eyre), or to one of the Scots colleges abroad (Rome and Valladolid), or to France, where they are ordained. When age or infirmity renders them unfit for work, there are funds to assist them.

In December 1913, there were secular priests (including retired, etc.), 473 ; regulars, 94 : total, 567. There are 252 missions, with 424 churches, chapels, stations, etc.

The comparative lack of native vocations mentioned in regard to the priesthood is also observable as regards the religious life. Yet not a few orders and congregations possess houses in Scotland (14 of men and 59 of women). Of men there are

Benedictines, Jesuits (4 houses), Vincentians, Passionists, Franciscans, Redemptorists, Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Canons Regular of the Immaculate Conception, and Marist Brothers (3 houses). The female religious are much more numerous—Benedictines, Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, Sisters of Mercy, Sisters of Charity, Little Sisters of the Poor, Poor Clares Colletines, Sisters of the Good Shepherd, Poor Sisters of Nazareth, Sisters of Notre Dame, Sisters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, Ursulines, Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, Sisters of the Holy Cross and Passion, Faithful Companions of Jesus, Helpers of the Holy Souls, Religious of the Sacred Heart, Servants of the Sacred Heart, Marie Reparatrice Nuns, and Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny. People have now become so familiar with the religious habit that the Sisters appear everywhere in public without attracting any unwelcome attention.

Social and Religious Life

It cannot yet be said that Catholics have attained to a position in the life of the country at all proportioned to their numbers. At the last census (1911) the total population was 4,760,904. Catholics number over 546,000, distributed as follows according to diocese: St. Andrews and Edinburgh, 70,000; Aberdeen, 12,000; Argyll and the Isles, 12,500; Dunkeld, 33,000; Galloway, 18,469; Glasgow, 400,000. There is still deep prejudice and bigotry that excludes them from the more responsible and remunerative offices. Besides, it is only recently that a more advanced education fitting them for such posts has been possible to our people. The new Health Insurance Act has

enabled many Catholic doctors to find a practice, and there has been a welcome increase of Catholics also in the legal profession. In the larger cities not a few have a good commercial business.

A large proportion of the faithful are connected with the well-known benefit and insurance societies: the Catholic Benefit Society (about 6600 members), St. Andrew's Catholic Total Abstinence and Benefit Society (3322 members), the Irish National Foresters (30,000 members), and the Ancient Order of Hibernians (about 26,000 members); whilst the diocesan insurance societies under the Health Insurance Act have a membership of about 42,000.

The Brothers of St. Vincent de Paul have a Conference in over 100 parishes.

There are various Catholic hospitals (the largest at Lanark under the Sisters of Charity), homes for the poor and aged, and for penitents, houses for servants and the like: summarized as charitable institutions, they number 37.

A new departure of some importance was inaugurated in 1912 with the opening of a Catholic Institute in Glasgow, designed to be the centre and rallying ground for the Catholic forces in the west, especially in regard to the social question. Our people have so far kept themselves wonderfully free from erroneous ideas on this question, but in the great industrial communities some are to be found tainted with the poison of socialistic and other subversive doctrines. The evil of socialistic infiltration among Catholics arises, it need scarcely be remarked, largely from their inevitable association with non-Catholics in the labour world. There are, of course, no Catholic trade unions; our people freely join all the existing labour organizations, such as the Miners' Union, Iron and Steel Workers' Union, etc. Indeed, there are no more

loyal members than the Irish and Lithuanian miners. And undoubtedly they exercise a curbing influence on anti-religious or secularistic tendencies within such unions (as was seen at the time of the secular education proposals), besides securing for themselves a powerful protection when in conflict with the masters. Nevertheless, it is not to be denied that the very association of Catholics with men the vast majority of whom practise no religion, constitutes a danger for them, which is particularly evident when the Catholic happens to rise to any position of importance in his society. To train these men in the proper understanding of the Church's social policy along the lines of Pope Leo's teaching is a work that would do untold good. Any lapsing into socialistic ways or adherence to other objectionable schemes of amelioration is almost certainly due, on the part of Catholics, as often as not, to ignorance of true Catholic principles on social and economic matters. A beginning has been made in some parishes in the study of social questions ; and the Catholic Institute is destined to do much good in the formation and propagation of sound principles in dealing with problems which will soon overshadow all others. It is well furnished with the modern equipments of such institutions ; it has a good library ; the social and recreative side is not overlooked ; and it provides good courses of lectures by outstanding men as healthy antidotes to the insidious evil of rationalism and of science, falsely so-called.

A notable impulse to Catholic fervour has been given of recent years by the organization of national pilgrimages to Rome and Lourdes. The Devotion of the Forty Hours' Adoration is continuous throughout the year in Glasgow archdiocese. Retreats for the laity are now common in various dioceses.

We have not yet produced much in the way of literature. Perhaps the secular clergy are prevented by their manifold activities in other directions from engaging in this pursuit, and the regular clergy are for the most part busied either with teaching or giving missions. Still some good work has been done for literature both by priests and laymen. There is also a Catholic Truth Society, which has recently entered into an arrangement with the parent Society in England for joint publication of pamphlets. Catholic journalism is represented by the *Glasgow Observer* and the *Catholic Herald*, published with local news in the principal centres of Catholicity. The secular press, though not atheistical as it is abroad, and not averse to open its columns to Catholic communications, is nevertheless strongly Protestant.

Taken all over, the Catholics in Scotland are devoted to their religion and to their priests. They attend Mass well, frequent the sacraments regularly (the confraternities are strong), and throng to Missions in a way which astonishes most people. It would have delighted the heart of the late Pope to see how loyally and enthusiastically the faithful have responded to his call to frequent and even daily communion, and how throughout the length and breadth of the land little children are led to the altar so soon as they have begun to attain the use of reason.

Marriages

With regard to the mixed marriage evil, on the whole we are pretty free from it. Certainly a number contract it—in some places it is almost unavoidable. But the Catholic conscience generally dictates a Catholic partner, or at least that the

Protestant party shall first be instructed and received into the Church, and some excellent converts are made in this way. The *Ne Temere* decree has not wholly prevented invalid unions taking place, and in some cases it has been found impossible to get them rectified. Yet many who, either in ignorance or in wilful despite of the law, have involved themselves in this difficulty, have been persuaded to put themselves right in the sight of God and His Church. Old customs die hard, and it will take some time yet before a thorough understanding of the new decree and its consequences penetrates the brain of the more careless and ill-instructed of the flock.

In Scotland it has been said that there are so many ways of getting married that you never know when you are not married. A writer on *Scotch Marriages: Regular and Irregular* (Walton, p. 28) says, "It is a curious fact, though true, that there must always be in Scotland a considerable number of persons who could not say off-hand whether they were married or not. It is only when the question has been decided in a court of law that their doubts can be removed." In Scots law, regular marriages are those performed by a minister of any religion, with previous publication of banns, either in the parish church or on the registrar's notice-board. Irregular marriages, equally valid as the former, are those contracted (1) either by mere expression of mutual consent to marry, the commonest form of which is a declaration of marriage before a Sheriff or a Justice of Peace, though strictly speaking the presence of any such official, or indeed of any witnesses at all, is not essential, so long as the marriage is admitted or can be proved; or (2) by "co-habitation, habit, and repute," which consists in a couple, legally free to marry, "co-habiting at

bed and board," and "so conducting themselves towards each other for such a length of time in the society or neighbourhood of which they are members, as to produce a general belief that they are really married persons." That Catholics living for so long amongst people with such easy and convenient methods of matrimony should find it a little hard at first to comprehend the full effect of the new decree (since 1908) as to the invalidity of marriages without a priest and two witnesses is not very difficult to understand. Catholic marriages for 1912 in the archdiocese of Edinburgh and St. Andrews numbered 511; baptisms, 2802: in Aberdeen, 71; baptisms, 412: in Argyll and the Isles, 45; baptisms, 257: Dunkeld, 236; baptisms, 1401: Galloway, 122; baptisms, 654: Glasgow, 2254; baptisms, 14,315. The total for all Scotland was 3239 marriages and 19,841 baptisms. Confirmations numbered 14,505.

III.—THE FUTURE

With regard to the future of Catholicity in Scotland, the outlook is not so dreary as it was, but, theologically speaking, the clouds still hang darkly; there is a heavy Scotch mist, and it is difficult to see more than an occasional glint of the sun. In addition to the obstacles to conversion common in every country—pride, fear, ignorance, prejudices, tradition, domestic and worldly considerations, etc. — there are some hindrances in Scotland derived from its religious history and from the native character of the people.

To begin with, the Reformation, as we have seen, was more thorough and sweeping here than in most lands. The country became steeped and soaked in Protestantism of the most determined

kind. The people became Protestant to the very marrow of their bones. Calvinism instilled into their inmost being a profound horror of Catholicism. Catholic tradition was rooted out. Scottish literature has been almost wholly Protestant; on this the people have been suckled and reared without an antidote. They have read and known of the Catholic Church therefore only as the "scarlet woman of Babylon," the "great whore" of the Apocalypse, and of the Pope as the antichrist, the "man of sin and son of perdition that exalteth himself in the Church against Christ and all that is called God" (*Confession of Faith*, chap. xxv.). It is no easy matter for people to reconcile themselves to that which they have been taught for centuries to regard as an abomination. To try and get the Catholic faith into their heads and hearts is like trying to bore through a rock with a penknife; only those who are really familiar with Scotch ideas about religion can have any conception of the mountains of prejudice that have to be levelled, and the dense forests of ignorance to be cleared away, before the Catholic faith can penetrate into a Scotsman's interior.

Moreover, this deeply rooted horror of Popery is in some vague way intensified by the memory of the "killing times" of the Covenanters, when the Stuart kings attempted to foist Episcopacy and a Liturgy upon Scottish Presbyterians, who were driven to the hills and moorlands and harried and shot, and much blood was shed. Graham of Claverhouse, and Sir George Mackenzie and Laud and Lauderdale, and Sharp, and other enemies of the Lord's "covenanted people," are names that children learn to utter with a peculiar intensity of execration. They were all Protestants, it is true, but they were upholders of Episcopacy and Prelacy,

and the Scotsman hates bishops of any kind ; to him it is all one whether the bishop be Catholic or Protestant. In some vague way he associates the religious tyranny of Charles and James with Popery, and so the covenanting struggles in the seventeenth century have operated against Catholics in much the same way as did the Jacobite risings of the eighteenth.

Then, secondly, there is a dark suspicion, indeed, more than a suspicion, a settled conviction, that Catholicity is opposed to material prosperity, and as Scotsmen are generally credited with a great devotion to this ideal in life, they are against Rome in any shape or form. Like the chief priests and Pharisees, they fear "the Romans will come and take away our place and nation" (Acts xi. 48).

Again, the Scotch character is slow in action—cautious, calculating. A Scot will hardly ever act quickly, still less impulsively ; he is not carried away by feeling or emotion ; he is difficult to convince, to persuade, to change ; he must have time and deliberation ; he must weigh all the pros and cons ; he is, in a word, canny. Now all this militates against his conversion, "the publicans and harlots go into the Kingdom of Heaven" before him. Doubtless, it has its compensations, as experience proves ; he will make an excellent Catholic when once he changes through conviction ; but the difficulty is to change him. The Catholicizing of Scotland in any case must be a very slow process.

And this leads us to mention another disadvantage : that there is no *via media* as in England to help people to find Catholicism ; no half-way house like Ritualism, nor even a finger-post to point them to the true faith. The Scotch Episcopal Church (in communion with the Church of England, and generally called "the English Church") is to the mass of

the Scotch people almost as much an alien body as the Catholic Church, perhaps more so; it makes no impression upon the people as a whole, it is to them (rightly or wrongly) an exotic growth, and is confined to certain definite classes. Presbyterianism, which is the religion of the State Church and of the United Free Church (claiming between them nearly 1,000,000 communicants), and lesser offshoots, is overwhelmingly dominant everywhere; and the other sects are equally, if not more, anti-Roman. Catholicism and the sects are poles asunder; there is a yawning chasm and no bridge over it. None of the Protestant bodies that appeal to Scotch people will give first lessons or first aids to Catholicism, as the Anglican Church does. The kirks will have no truck with bishops and liturgies, and fasts and festivals, and altars and processions, and candles and sacerdotalism, and things of that kind; such things simply do not exist for them. No minister will ever teach or suggest that these things are good or proper, far less necessary. One never hears of a minister at his conversion bringing over any part of his congregation with him. He has prepared himself for submission in the solitude of his study and in his secret visits to Catholic churches, but he could not, as in England, prepare his congregation. A heresy hunt, and probably deposition, would have been his immediate fate. This is a great drawback. Catholicity, consequently, gets no help from outside, *ex inimicis nostris*, in recommending its claims; it must depend solely upon its own power and opportunities; and the convert has to work out his salvation with fear and trembling alone—"remote, unfriended, melancholy, slow."

Once more, in those parts of Scotland where the population is thickest, where three-quarters of it, indeed, are to be found—*i.e.* south of the Grampians,

and especially south of the Tay and Forth—Catholicism is identified with Irishry; and as a matter of fact probably five-sixths of it is Irish. So much is this the case that when a man becomes a Catholic it is commonly said "he has turned Irish." We are, as a priest once expressed it, something like the Jews, looked upon (perhaps looked down upon) as a little sect of undesirable aliens, dumped down in a country which could well do without us.[1] This identifying of Catholic and Irish, though inevitable as matters stand at present, is, from the point of view of the conversion of Scotland, unfortunate; for Scotch people, whilst not perhaps despising or disliking the Irish *qua* Irish, do despise and dislike the religion of the Irish, which is that of the Pope, and the last thing that would occur to them as within the bounds of possibility is that they should ever submit to it. Doubtless when the Irish question, which has hitherto absorbed the energy and enthusiasm of many of the brightest and best of our people, is out of the way, things will improve; for then they will be free to consecrate their time and talents to the more pressing problems connected with the cause of Catholicity in Scotland.

Yet it must not be supposed that the Church has made no progress in recent times beyond the natural increase of our own people. Conversions are announced from time to time, and every priest would be able to tell of persons in his parish who have been led to embrace the faith from one cause or another. There are now Catholics in university chairs and on the judicial bench; amongst the nobility and county families; and indeed in all ranks

[1] These remarks do not apply to the north or the extreme west, where Catholics are nearly all Scotch, and many of them converts. In parts of the shires of Banff, Aberdeen, Inverness, and Argyll, and of the Outer Hebrides, the people never lost the faith.

and professions. What is required now to advance the Church's position is the conversion of a lot of leading laymen and ministers, the moral effect of which would be very great in making Catholicity respected and "respectable" in the public eye. The Church undoubtedly has a great future in the country, for Presbyterianism, though still powerful, has lost its old hold, owing partly to the religious divisions, and partly to the decay of Calvinism as a system of belief; and vast masses of the people are sunk in utter indifference, without church affiliation, without prayer, even without baptism, and given over to a life purely material. A more tolerant spirit has naturally followed indifference. Amidst the wreckage of beliefs strewn around, people see that the Catholic faith alone stands unharmed, and many who know not what to believe or where to find the truth are turning wistfully and fearfully to the ancient Church in Scotland, wondering whether perhaps it may not be right after all. The great means, along with prayer, to achieve the conversion of such persons is enlightenment and instruction, so as to break down the monstrous barrier of ignorance and prejudice which looms up between them and Catholicity. What are the best steps to be taken to secure this end, whether the time has not now come for an active propaganda along the lines of the Paulist Fathers or the English Motor-Chapel Missionaries—are questions that would require separate treatment. (For further discussion on the situation the writer may be allowed to refer to his booklet, *Hindrances to Conversion to the Catholic Church in Scotland*, Sands, 6d.)

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THE CHURCH IN THE NETHERLANDS

By The Lady Acton

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PART I

The Catholic Party in the Netherlands

1. HISTORICAL RETROSPECT

The object of the present pamphlet is to give to British Catholic readers some knowledge of their co-religionists across the North Sea, whose history presents in some respects striking analogies with their own. As in our own country, Catholics in the Dutch Republic during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were a helpless and often persecuted minority. In both countries the obscurity of social and political disability in which Catholic society was plunged is irradiated by a few eminent names, of whom one is in Holland a household word, Vondel, the greatest of Dutch poets, whose masterpiece, *Lucifer*, may be compared with *Paradise Lost.* The hierarchy was restored in the middle of the nineteenth century, and that event was one of the

chief incidents which marked the early stages of the Dutch Catholics' brave struggle for liberty and justice. A marvellous transformation has taken place in their position during the past sixty years. In some readers' minds a feeling akin to envy may even be aroused by the spectacle of such a splendidly drilled and equipped fighting force as the Catholic party now presents, thanks to years of strenuous effort. On the other hand, it may be urged that such highly organized political activity would be unsuited to our own conditions. But whatever may be said for and against "clericalism" in politics, no British Catholic can fail to yield unbounded admiration for the way in which purely religious and social work is organized by the Church in the Netherlands, or will omit to draw salutary lessons from such a stimulating example, whenever they may be applied with profit to the somewhat but not entirely different circumstances at home.

Those readers whose interest may be awakened by the following brief outline of a vast subject are strongly recommended to study *La Hollande Politique, un Parti Catholique en Pays Protestant*, by M. Paul Verschave, to whom the present writer is indebted for most of the facts given below.

In the Netherlands the wars of religion differed from the same conflicts in Germany and France in that they were of a patriotic rather than of a confessional character. For this reason the Dutch Catholics did their best to remain neutral in the struggle with Spain. Yet it is not altogether surprising that their victorious Protestant compatriots identified them with the enemy and treated them as outcasts. The children of Alva's victims had more excuse for persecuting his co-religionists than had their contemporaries in England. And yet by the time that the Treaty of Westphalia had ended the

Thirty Years' War in 1648 the Orangist fury seems to have spent itself. The Catholics, though still excluded from political rights and treated with contempt by the governing class, could now quietly practise their religion in relative safety ; they might hear Mass, but only in a building without window-panes, or roof of tiles or slates. As generally happens, this contemptuous semi-toleration succeeded in quenching the zeal and sapping the fortitude which had resisted more positive methods of persecution. Verschave observes that on the whole the treatment of Catholics in the Dutch Republic was less harsh than in England and other Protestant countries. For in the national character fanaticism strove with a passionate love of liberty which, without preventing, certainly tempered persecution, and rendered it possible for whole provinces to remain in the ancient faith. Various causes, however, contributed to the marked decline in numbers and influence which by 1798 had still further reduced the Catholics in the Netherlands to the position of a powerless minority. In the words of Monsignor Schaepman, "A party when forced to hold aloof from public life should above all things retain in its midst those who may be styled its 'patriarchs,' viz. the territorial and civic aristocracy, the magistracy, the provosts of guilds, in short, all those elements which may be said to preserve within them the living wisdom of the past ; for then such a party can again emerge, renew its youth, and resume its rôle in the common life of the people." Unfortunately, when the hour of deliverance struck, the Catholic "patriarchs" failed to answer the call. For a large proportion of the nobility who had long held staunchly to the old faith had finally fallen away from the tradition of their ancestors. Those who remained, excluded as they were from public life, for which indeed they

ultimately lost all taste, shut themselves up in their country homes, sheltered the priests and succoured their poorer brethren in the faith, and in short acted as the faithful guardians of all that remained of the splendid past.

The revolution of 1796 and the foundation of the Batavian Republic brought emancipation to the Dutch Catholics from those civil and religious disabilities which had weighed them down for two centuries. They naturally hailed with joy the Constitution of 1798, which endowed them with at least theoretical liberty, of which they hastened to avail themselves to repair past disasters. The significance of this revival is illustrated by the following figures. In 1784 there were only 350 Catholic parishes and 400 priests in the Dutch Netherlands. By 1815 there were 673 parishes and 925 priests. Between 1830 and 1900, 500 new churches are said to have been built and 150 enlarged, at a cost of 500 millions of florins. By the latter year the Protestant Pastor Buitendyk estimates the Catholic parishes at 1014 and the priests at 2310. These figures are the more striking when it is remembered that the Dutch Catholics belong mainly to the middle and poorer classes of the community. The newly emancipated body neither embraced revolutionary principles nor did they form a political party in the true sense of the word. But they coalesced and gradually emerged as an integral force in the body politic, inspired by a tradition of their own and by the determination to guard their heritage, as well as to foster the rights and liberties which they had now acquired before the law.

With the restoration of the House of Orange in 1815, the return from England of the banished Stadtholder and his proclamation as King William I., there began a period of reaction which was one of

the causes of the Belgian rising and separation in 1830. In 1848, however, William II., who was more tolerant than his father, took the initiative in the matter of constitutional revision. In this great task Catholics and Liberals gladly gave him their whole-hearted support. The former demanded freedom of conscience, religious equality before the law, liberty of the press, liberty of instruction, and freedom in respect of meeting and association. They also advocated a liberal policy in regard to the extension of the franchise. It was generally, though erroneously, supposed that they had become identified with the Liberal party, which amid the abuses of the counter-revolution could fairly be called the party of liberty and justice, and had certainly earned the gratitude and raised the hope of the Catholics. These, without forming a regular party, enjoyed that union which is often better than formal unity. Events, however, soon showed the need for a closer independent organization. In 1853 the Catholic hierarchy, which had been suppressed since 1608, was restored. A "No Popery" cry was thereupon raised by those who resented the blow at the Protestant supremacy, which, though no longer legally in force, was still vigorous from historical tradition and social custom. This violent opposition had the effect of deepening the attachment of Catholics to their own faith, and of hastening their development as a religious party in the State. This process was completed by the burning question of religious education, which first made its appearance upon the establishment by the law of 1857 of a system of State-aided undenominational instruction. Many Catholics fell into the snare and accepted the principle of neutrality in the hope that popular education would thereby lose its distinctive Protestant colouring. They soon perceived their mistake. From neutral

the system of instruction rapidly became irreligious, and it became evident that energetic action was necessary. It should be explained that in every Dutch commune the different confessions take the initiative in charitable work by means of their local organizations, some of which have considerable sums of money at their disposal. Through the agency of these parochial institutions the Catholic community had founded private schools unsubsidized by the State, at a date prior to the issue in 1868 of a collective note by the Dutch Episcopate, solemnly affirming the rights and duties of parents with regard to the education of their children. This pronouncement at once rallied the Catholic forces and became the watchword in the prolonged and apparently hopeless struggle upon which they were about to enter. At the time the Catholic vote was represented by no more than one-fifth of the members of the Second or Lower Chamber. The proposal to revise the Education Law of 1857 was opposed by Liberals and Conservatives alike. The former maintained that the Constitution prohibited the grant of subsidies to free schools, while the latter would only consent on condition that the instruction given should be "neutral." The Bishops' Manifesto terminated a brief and unsatisfactory alliance between the Catholics and the essentially Protestant "Conservative" party, which to-day has ceased to exist. From that moment the logic of events begins to show itself in the nascent agreement between Catholics and the small but strenuous group of "Anti-Revolutionaries" under the leadership of Groen van Prinsterer.

No sketch of Dutch political history, however slight, would be complete without some account of the rise of this remarkable body, which was destined to absorb a large proportion of the old Conservative party, and

which now, at any rate,[1] in conjunction with its loyal Catholic allies, governs the kingdom of the Netherlands in an avowedly theocratic spirit. The title assumed by the party is admitted by its prophet, Dr. A. Kuyper, to be somewhat paradoxical, for, as he points out, it is an outcome of three successive revolutions: the revolt against Spain in 1572, the English Revolution of 1688, and the Dutch rising against Napoleonic rule in 1813. The motive force, however, in all three cases was Calvinism, and Calvinism is by its very nature opposed to the spirit of the French Revolution of 1789 embodied in the formula "Ni Dieu, ni Maître." In the words of Dr. Kuyper, "The object of the Anti-Revolutionary party is to secure full recognition to those ideals which inspired us in the days of our national greatness. This appears from the first article of its programme: 'The Anti-Revolutionary party represents the bases of our national character as it was in 1572 under the guidance of the House of Orange and under the influence of the Reformation.'" The party, then, is essentially Calvinist, and so proclaimed itself when under the pressure of the education controversy in 1868 it first took definite shape. But in spite of its Calvinism, the ideas of the party in regard to this question were calculated to attract the Catholics rather than to repel them. Verschave describes the situation at the close of 1868 in the following terms:—"On the heights of power the Liberal camp, already divided on certain questions, but united in defence of the official educational policy: in the plain below the Catholic and Anti-Revolutionary forces, relentless in their attacks and operating independently in the sacred battle of the schools." This parallel action was bound to result sooner or later in an alliance, produced at

[1] But see the opening section in Part II.

first by the force of circumstances, and ultimately based on the open advocacy of a common principle.

Meanwhile the need for a thorough party organization became increasingly apparent to the Catholic representatives. For a minority wishing to make its influence felt must of necessity possess a definite programme set forth by its organs in the press. This lack was painfully felt in 1878, when the existing education law was rendered more rigorous by a fresh measure which still further opened the Treasury to State schools, and reaffirmed in more drastic terms the continued exclusion of voluntary schools from the benefits of State aid. With the indomitable tenacity of their race the Dutch Catholics, far from being crushed by this disappointment of their hopes, renewed the struggle with untiring energy, and were rewarded by the advent of a leader capable of completing their organization as a militant party.

In 1880 the constituency of Breda elected the Abbé Schaepman to the States General, and for the first time a Catholic priest sat among the deputies. At thirty-six Schaepman enjoyed a considerable reputation as an orator and poet. In appearance he is said to have recalled the type dear to Rembrandt and to Frans Hals. He has been described as a practical idealist: a priestly knight-errant. His motto, "Credo pugno," was an epitome of his life. He may be said to have created the Catholic party as it now exists. And as he rapidly became the most popular man in Holland, his position was one of no small power. Schaepman's first act was to create a Catholic press. He found it represented by a single organ, *De Tijd*, but at the time of his death he had brought the number up to thirteen dailies and about 150 other papers, including weeklies and periodicals. Schaepman first bent his energies to the conclusion of an alliance with

the Anti-Revolutionary party. It is not clear whether this idea originated with him or with Dr. Kuyper, who already was, as he still is, chief editor of the party's newspaper, *De Standaard*. It is difficult not to be impressed by the circumstance that at this juncture two leaders should have appeared at the head of movements which at first sight seemed far asunder, but were yet mutually drawn together by the magnetism of a common belief in God. For some ten years this movement, termed by its opponents "The Monstrous Alliance," took the form rather of a tacit understanding than of the offensive and defensive partnership which it has since become.

The first victory of the Christian parties was won at the General Election of 1884, in connection with the burning question of constitutional revision. They were, however, unable to profit by their success at the polls, as they remained in a minority in the Upper Chamber. There followed a period of confusion which even spread to the Catholic ranks, in which disaffection and disagreement wrought a havoc of which the effects had scarcely disappeared by the end of the century. The rebellious movement tended in a conservative direction, while the rest of the party, under Dr. Schaepman's leadership, were regarded as democratic in character. Paradoxically enough, the former faction chafed at the alliance with the Anti-Revolutionaries, and looked back with regret on the historic alliance with the Liberals under Thorbecke. It is of interest to recall that this illustrious statesman, who had distinguished himself in 1853 by his tolerant attitude in regard to the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy, saw himself compelled in 1871, during his third period of office, to acquiesce in the suppression, consequent upon the Italian occupation, of the Dutch diplomatic

mission to the Vatican, a retrograde step illustrating the direction in which Liberalism had evolved during the interval, and one which aroused great indignation among the Dutch Catholics.

From 1878 to 1888 the great feature of Dutch political history was the gradual disappearance of the old Conservative party. Their brief alliance with the Catholics was of little permanent use to either partner, as the Conservatives never gave whole-hearted support to the cause of religious education, and the understanding rested merely on an opportunist basis, the result on both sides of dissatisfaction with the Liberal party. Although M. Heemskerk, the greatest of the Conservatives, was Premier during a considerable portion of the ten years with which we are dealing, the Cabinets under his sway were always predominantly Liberal, at any rate in their administrative results. In the meantime the rank and file of the Conservatives was gradually absorbed by the Anti-Revolutionary party, while a few joined the right wing of the Liberals, and fewer still retained their party character. In spite of much internal wrangling, the Catholics and Anti-Revolutionaries drew ever nearer together in practice. The ministries which succeeded each other without much variety of colouring were mainly preoccupied with the question of revising the Constitution of 1848. While admitting the necessity of revision in principle, the "Christian" parties stoutly maintained that they would lend no hand to it until their grievances in the matter of religious education were redressed, that is, until the obnoxious Article 194 of the Constitution, which consecrated the principle of State-aided undenominational education and ignored the claims on the public funds of the voluntary schools, should be amended to their satisfaction.

The General Election following the revision of the Constitution, which was completed for the time being by the end of 1887, in spite of the opposition of the Christian parties, and in virtue of which revision the numbers of the electors were about doubled, curiously enough returned the parties of the Right to power, thus giving to the Christian coalition their first solid victory. The revision had practically left the educational clauses of the Constitution unchanged, but in the course of the furious battle waged round this question the Liberals had been forced to admit that the law as it stood was patent of an interpretation permitting State subsidies to voluntary schools. The "business" Cabinet (*Cabinet d'affaires*), which with the aid of a Liberal majority had forced through the constitutional revision, was now replaced by the first coalition ministry (1888), with a distinguished Anti-Revolutionary, Baron Mackay, as Premier and Minister of the Interior. In the First Chamber the Liberals had retained an imposing majority, but in the popular chamber they only held forty-five seats against twenty-seven Anti-Revolutionaries and twenty-six Catholics. The remaining two seats were held respectively by the last of the "Conservatives," Count Schimmelpenninck, and by the first Socialist ever elected in Holland, an ex-pastor Domela Nieuwenhuis. In the programme of the new Government educational reform occupied a prominent place. But the proposed measure for "the development of private instruction" was so just and moderate that even the Liberal majority in the First Chamber had no cause to offer it any very strenuous opposition, and on December 8th, 1889, the Law of Pacification was promulgated, to the relief and satisfaction of the majority of Dutchmen. It laid down in unambiguous terms, without

modifying the language of the famous Article 194, that Free Schools may receive State aid *in spite of their denominational character.* The rights of parents met with fuller recognition than heretofore, and various minor reforms in the allocation of funds were introduced. The Mackay Act represents a new spirit, and in one sense a breach with the past; it is consequently a landmark in the social and political history of the Netherlands.

The triumph of 1889 was soon followed by a deplorable reaction. As though exhausted by the strain of cohesion, Catholics and Anti-Revolutionaries had no sooner effected the educational reform for which they had originally combined than they began to quarrel, not only with each other, but also among themselves. "The Monstrous Alliance" was temporarily dissolved, on the question of compulsory military service (1891), but the real cause of divorce was to be sought as much in apparent incompatibility of temper as in differences on public policy. The Catholics complained of the arrogance of the Anti-Revolutionaries, while Calvin's sons suddenly remembered that they were before all else anti-Roman. It is not surprising that the Liberals should have profited by the state, bordering on anarchy, into which their opponents had fallen to rally their forces and win the General Election which, under the operation of the quadrennial system, recurred in 1891. The Anti-Revolutionaries lost nine seats, the Catholics one only, but that single loss was "equal to ten," for Dr. Schaepman himself was beaten at Wijk, owing to the intrigues of the rebellious Catholic faction.

Although, through the depths of disunion into which the parties of the Right had fallen, the Left was again victorious at the elections of 1894, there was little to choose between Right and Left as

regards discipline and co-ordination either as to means or end. A tempest was again raging throughout the country on the subject of the franchise. The revision of 1888 had satisfied none, and the Progressives on both sides, including Kuyper and Schaepman themselves, were in favour of an extension which would have amounted practically to universal suffrage. In the end a determined Liberal Minister, van Houten, forced a compromise upon the country, which, exhausted by the controversy, grudgingly accepted it in September, 1896. Thus ended the period of almost inextricable Parliamentary confusion, dubbed at the time "rumor in casa," after one of Troost's humorous pictures. Verschave quotes in this connection the Dutch proverb: "Een ieder stuurt zyns weegs en niemand weet waarheen" (everyone goes his own way but no one knows whither it leads).

The reconstitution of the Christian coalition was effected on the morrow of the acceptance of van Houten's Law of Revision. He himself unwittingly furnished the cry which rallied the forces of his opponents after years of disunion. No sooner had the Bill become law than van Houten, like a second Gambetta, called all good Liberals to arms against the clerical forces. At once the mists which had confused the issues were dissipated, and again Left and Right regrouped themselves instinctively, according to fundamental principles, and stood confronting one another in battle array. Although the reconciliation of Catholics and Anti-Revolutionaries restored to them something more than their former strength, the country was not ripe for their immediate victory at the polls. After the elections of 1897 a transition Ministry was formed under the Liberal statesman Pierson, who governed the country without violent attack from the Opposition until 1901,

when the Christian coalition once more triumphed at the polls, and Dr. Kuyper assumed office with a preponderantly Calvinist Cabinet. The years 1897–1901 provided the Catholic party with a respite in which to set their house in order, to take stock of their ideals and aims, and to draw up a programme covering more ground than the education question which had formed their original platform.

2. THE CATHOLICS IN POWER

In an article published in 1898 Dr. Schaepman gives a rapid sketch of the party programme, which was first accepted by the Catholic electoral associations in 1897, and further developed in 1901. It is based on obedience to the Holy See, loyalty to the House of Orange-Nassau, and "sincere adhesion to the Constitution." For the solution of social problems, to which great prominence is given, it follows the principles laid down by the Encyclical "Rerum novarum." In addition to the observance of Sunday and the prohibition of excessive labour, even for adults, the programme demands the revision of the duty on imports, with a view to the protection of agriculture and industry. It also adumbrates a scheme of national insurance against sickness, accident, invalidity and old age. With regard to the education question, parental rights and responsibilities are looked upon as the fundamental principles of all legislation, which should tend to make voluntary schools the rule and neutral teaching exceptional and supplementary. The equality before the law of free schools and State schools alike had to a certain extent been secured by the law of 1889, but it remained to be extended to the higher grades of education. Apart from the emphasis which they naturally laid on the importance of missionary work

in the Colonies, there was nothing distinctive in the policy of the party in regard to other public questions.

Dr. Schaepman in the article previously cited calls attention to the broad lines and central position advocated by his party in its official programme. This was to be as wide and flexible as possible, and to steer clear as far as feasible of the dangerous question of tendency or direction, whether in a conservative or progressive sense. No doubt in the elaboration of some of its articles by the Catholic members of the Second Chamber it was necessary to take a definite line on matters which, though purely secular, were still highly controversial. Most of the constituencies represented being in Limburg or Brabant, two provinces almost entirely devoted to agriculture, the Catholic electorate has always been decidedly protectionist in its aspirations. (It will be remembered that Holland is still practically a Free Trade country.) Moreover, a leading item of the programme, and one which was made especially prominent in the General Election of 1901, was, as it still remains, a scheme for old-age pensions. Furthermore, the party were strenuously opposed to an increase in succession duties in the direct line of descent, and they were even in favour of their abolition ; and it is therefore intelligible that they should have advocated a scheme for raising the customs duties as an alternative means of obtaining revenue. This latter question has now passed from the realm of theory into that of practical politics. The official programme records its regret at the suppression of the mission to the Holy See, and its desire for its ultimate restoration.

It would, of course, be impossible within the limits of a short article to do justice to a portion even of so rich and varied a chapter of Dutch Parliamentary history as the Kuyper Ministry, 1901–1905. The

Cabinet was composed of five Anti-Revolutionaries and three Catholics. The speech from the Throne, with which the Government first met Parliament, was couched in language of a specifically Christian character, to which the country had not yet been accustomed. This pronouncement contained the significant phrase that the numerous measures about to be introduced for the moral and material amelioration of the Dutch people must rest "on the Christian basis of the national life." If the promised reforms were not immediately carried out in their entirety, this cannot be laid to the charge of the Government. Numerous excellent measures were elaborated with the care and thoroughness which characterizes all Dutch legislation. By the end of 1904 Dr. Kuyper could reply to hostile critics by pointing to over thirty measures, some of which had already been adopted by the States General, while others were still engaging the attention of Parliament. The latter included three highly important projects, viz. Old-Age Pensions, Revision of the Customs Tariff, and the settlement of questions connected with Secondary and Higher Education.

Unfortunately the attention of both Government and public was for a time diverted from the work of constructive legislation by the labour troubles of 1903. How Dr. Kuyper dealt with the great railway strike of that year is an episode of Dutch history too familiar for recapitulation here. The policy of the iron hand succeeded admirably in crushing the movement with its far-reaching Socialist ramifications, but won the Minister many and deadly enemies. The work of social reform was retarded, while widespread unemployment and its attendant misery were the net result of the agitation, so far as those who had taken part in it were concerned.

The work of social legislation having been inter-

rupted by the labour agitation, and the exceptional measures which it called forth, the States General upon their reassembly after the recess in September, 1903, proceeded to discuss educational reforms. These were all in the direction of giving greater freedom to the higher grades of denominational education. The Second (Lower) Chamber accepted the Government's project without serious opposition. But the First Chamber, which, it will be remembered, had a Liberal majority, stoutly resisted it, particularly in respect of one article which placed the Free Universities on an equal footing with the others in the matter of conferring degrees. This opposition on the part of the Upper House developed into a grave crisis. Dr. Kuyper saw himself confronted with the alternatives of resignation or of dissolving the First Chamber. The latter step, although within the letter of the Constitution, was undoubtedly alien to its spirit, for the First Chamber had since 1848 been held sacred as the symbol of order and stability. Many of the Government's adherents shrank from such an unprecedented exercise of ministerial authority. On the other hand, it was improbable that a Liberal Cabinet, in the event of its accepting office and dissolving the Second Chamber, would command an adequate majority in the country. Dr. Kuyper, at any rate, did not hesitate long. His Bill was rejected on July 14, 1904; on the 19th the Crown dissolved the First Chamber, and on August 3 a new Senate was elected, consisting of thirty-one Ministerialists to nineteen Liberals. Thereupon arose one of those tempests which occasionally sweep the calm waters of Dutch political life. The heterogeneous factions composing the Left were provided with a rallying-cry in view of the approaching General Election, due in 1905. The storm of "Kuyper hate" which swept the country carried with it all the

groups of the Opposition, from Old Liberals to Social Democrats. When, however, it came to drawing up an electoral programme, there was less unanimity. A formula was finally arrived at, sufficiently comprehensive to suit all the parties of the Left, and leaving undefined the exact nature of the electoral reform to be introduced after a Liberal victory. Despite the ingenuity displayed by the leaders of the Left in framing their appeal to the electorate, it seemed unlikely that they would succeed in defeating the Government, which could go to the country with a record of useful legislation to its credit. The electoral battle was fought with a ferocity unparalleled in Dutch Parliamentary history. The Left stuck at nothing in their efforts to sow dissension among the allied forces opposed to them, and above all to fan the flame of "Kuyper hate" among all classes of the community. The great Minister had not only made enemies among the proletariat, but he had alienated many of the bourgeoisie by his action in founding a secession from the national Reformed Church, which he considered too tolerant of "Modernist" doctrine. Dr. Schaepman had died in 1903, and his successor, M. Kolkman, lately Minister of Finance, in a rousing speech addressed to the Roman Catholic Parliamentary Club, had urged the party to maintain close co-operation with the Anti-Revolutionaries; and indeed loyal adhesion to the Christian Block was required of all Catholic candidates in the constituencies. The other groups of the Right failed to maintain equally good Parliamentary discipline, despite the efforts of the Anti-Revolutionary leaders to enforce it. The bond of "hate" which had welded the Left into a temporary union proved a driving force stronger than any opposed to it. The final result of the 1905 election gave the Left a majority, narrow indeed, but

sufficient to afford them their revenge and to bring about the downfall of Dr. Kuyper. In Liberal circles, fully alive to the slenderness of a victory based on a majority of four, the idea was canvassed of sounding the Moderates of the Right, both Catholic and Protestant, as to the possibility of a coalition. But the Catholics perceived that a regrouping of parties on the basis, not of fundamental theocratic principles, but of more or less progressive tendencies of a secular character, would be an irretrievable error. At length a Liberal Ministry was formed under the leadership of M. de Meester. The problem of the suffrage, which constituted the most important task of the new Government, was referred to a Commission, whose labours, it was secretly hoped, would prove so protracted as to absolve Ministers from the embarrassing necessity of coping with the question before the next General Election. Meanwhile some measures of minor importance were proceeded with, of which the most useful—the law dealing with labour contracts—was passed with the aid of the Opposition, one of whom—the Catholic ex-Minister of Justice, Loeff—was its original promoter. In June 1907 the elections to the provincial councils took place, and, after a strenuous fight, resulted in a crushing defeat for the Liberals. This was an event of first-rate magnitude, for these councils, apart from their other functions, constitute the electoral colleges for the First Chamber. Following upon this initial reverse, the position of the Government was rendered still more precarious by their action in bringing the franchise question forward, with disconcerting suddenness, at the beginning of the autumn session of 1907. The Ministry received the *coup de grâce* in December of the same year, when the slumbering controversy on the Army Budget reached a final climax and the Government

were defeated in the Second (popular) Chamber by a majority of fifteen. Thereupon the Clerical coalition once more returned to office under the premiership of the Anti-Revolutionary leader, M. Heemskerk, son of the former Conservative statesman, while owing to a variety of circumstances Dr. Kuyper remained without office, though in general sympathy with the new administration. The Cabinet comprised three Catholics, among whom was M. Kolkman, the Parliamentary leader of the group, who undertook the office of Minister of Finance. The work of Government during the sixteen months which elapsed between the accession of the new Government to office and the natural demise of the existing Parliament in 1909 was carried on in a cautious and moderate spirit. Two of the less controversial among the articles of the "Christian" programme, both of which have since been translated into law, were brought forward, viz. a measure for the repression of public immorality, and the grant of subsidies to free secondary education.

The national events which have preoccupied the Netherlands during the Heemskerk administration are too recent for discussion here. Those readers who do not follow continental politics may be reminded that the General Election of June 1909 resulted in a brilliant victory for the Clerical Government, whose supporters in the new Second Chamber outnumbered their opponents by a majority of twenty. A spirit of optimism and conciliation, following on the happy fulfilment of the nation's "joyful hopes" in the birth of the Princess Juliana, pervaded the country, and robbed the contest of much of its bitterness. In connection with the elections, Dr. Kuyper addressed the Anti-Revolutionaries at Utrecht in April 1909, and recapitulated the Christian programme, advocating a scheme of Old-

Age Pensions, on the basis of a revision of the tariff, and the grant of the franchise to all heads of families. The Catholics supplemented this declaration by a resolution in favour of proportional representation. One result of the 1909 elections was to show that Liberalism, where not defeated by the Christian Block, has lost ground owing to the rising tide of Social Democracy, which would have been represented in the new Parliament by no fewer than ten deputies, but for the dexterous tactics of the Catholics, and of the " Christian Historical " section of the Calvinist wing, who succeeded in wresting three seats from formidable Socialist candidates.

3. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The above sketch may be said to close the chronological record of the Catholic party in Holland down to the present time. A few words may be added in conclusion upon the social and political organization of the party. In the Parliament elected in 1909 the Catholics in the Second Chamber numbered twenty-five out of a total of 100, while in the First Chamber, which, as will be remembered, was newly elected in 1905, and which is gradually renewed by an automatic process of rotation, they held in 1910 eighteen of the fifty seats. The members of the party in both Chambers constitute the Roman Catholic Parliamentary Club, of which the successive presidents (the *ipso facto* chiefs of the party) have been since the Club's foundation: Dr. Schaepman, M. Kolkman (lately Minister of Finance), M. Loeff (the eminent international jurist and a former Minister of Justice), and since 1910 Dr. Nolens. The Catholic Deputies are most of them still in the prime of life. They are earnest and strenuous men, worthy of the great Parliamentary influence they enjoy. Among

the most prominent is Mgr. Nolens, aforesaid member for his native Venlo, and now the only Catholic priest in the Chamber. In any country the personality of this eminent man would command a position worthy of such varied gifts. Appointed a professor at the University of Amsterdam in 1909, Dr. Nolens is at once politician, student and philanthropist, a worthy priest, and a genial man of the world.

The main features of the party, and those to which much of their public success is due, may be stated to be in the first place their consistent attitude of obedience to the Episcopate and of unswerving loyalty to the Holy See; secondly, the goal that they have set themselves from the outset, viz. the reconstruction of society on a Christian basis, which explains the party's constant preoccupation with the whole problem of social reform, thereby bringing them into contact with many questions not specifically Catholic or even Christian in character. Any narrower conception of their rôle would from the beginning have branded the party as a mere faction or group instead of an integral part of the national comity. In the words of a well-known writer, the Dutch Catholics may be described as "a political personality demanding liberty." If the simile be carried a little further, this collective personality can be said to lead a threefold life—religious, social, and political. As a religious body the Dutch Catholics set an admirable example of zeal and fervour. It would carry us too far to give even an outline of the various pious, charitable, or philanthropic organizations—many of them on an imposing scale and having large sums at their disposal—which provide for the spiritual and material welfare of the individual Catholic, from the cradle to the grave. These include the Christian "Boerenbond," or Peasants' League, which has done much to stimulate agriculture and to develop the principle of

co-operation among such unpromising subjects as the intensely individualistic Dutch farmers; the "Volksbond," which unites Catholic artisans in an association, more successful perhaps than its Socialist rival in promoting practical measures of social reform, because more moderate and steadfast in its demands; and the "Hanze," which embraces a large proportion of the smaller Catholic "bourgeoisie." Be it noted that the Boerenbond is termed "Christian" and not "Catholic." For in fact it is not exclusively Catholic except in its local branches. Unlike the Boerenbond, the Volksbond is purely Catholic. A collective note of the Dutch Episcopate, issued in July, 1906, condemned the formation of mixed Christian syndicates of working men on the German pattern. In view of the profound disagreement which has recently come to light between the mixed syndicates of the Rhine Province and the exclusively Catholic associations of Berlin, this point is worthy of notice. As regards common action with Protestants, the Bishops' word of command runs: "March separately, but fight side by side." The aforesaid associations are united and crowned on federal lines by the "Catholic Social Action," which is supreme among them. No doubt these institutions, which are primarily benevolent, are not always easily distinguishable in their activities from those party organizations, both local and central, which exist for purely political or electoral purposes. The latter, however, are to be met with in almost every commune where Catholics can claim to exercise influence. Each constituency possesses in addition a central association, which deputes one delegate to the committee for the whole province, which latter in turn manages the elections to the provincial states or councils (the modern equivalent of the ancient Provincial Estates). The entire organization is con-

trolled by a central council, composed of delegates from the provinces. The rearing of this great edifice, which, be it understood, is peculiar to the Catholic party, was begun by Dr. Schaepman, who superposed the district and provincial associations upon the humble foundation of the village committee already existing in connection with the voluntary schools. Shortly after his death the "General Union of Roman Catholic Electoral Associations in Holland," a federation of the aforesaid provincial bodies, came into being. With such elaborate party machinery it is not surprising that in the matter of political discipline the Dutch Catholics are far more advanced than their co-religionists in many other European countries. Moreover, the party in its present phase is frankly democratic in character and is in close touch with all classes of Catholics throughout the country, for which its social policy has already done so much. In spite of certain Conservative tendencies among its members, the party finally resolved to adopt the motto of the great Bishop Ketteler of Mayence, "For God and the People," which Dr. Schaepman had already made his own. It should be recorded to their lasting honour that this party, which were propelled by the hand of circumstance into the political arena, untrue to the history of many religious bodies which mingle gratuitously in the fray of public life, have neither forfeited the completeness of their faith nor degenerated into an instrument of bigotry and fanaticism.

After several years' residence in the Netherlands, the impression left by Dutch Catholicism on the mind of the writer almost approaches an ideal picture. There are about twelve Catholic parishes in the Hague and its suburbs alone. The churches are all large, and crowded with worshippers at every one of the numerous Sunday Masses. In spite of

the wars of religion, the most complete toleration prevails, and religious orders abound. The Jesuits possess two houses in the Hague, and they are said to have recently acquired a much coveted site in the vicinity for the erection of a secondary school. There are certain minor regulations in force which differentiate the more Protestant parts of the country, such as the provinces of North and South Holland, from Catholic districts as those of Limburg and Brabant, whose towns present an aspect similar to that of Belgian cities. In the Protestant provinces the Catholic clergy, both secular and religious, wear a peculiar dress in the public streets, somewhat recalling that of an Anglican Archdeacon. Open air processions are prohibited; and the Midnight Mass, which formerly attracted large mixed congregations to the fashionable Franciscan Church in the Hague on Christmas Eve, has been discontinued on grounds of expediency. The writer never perceived any symptom of hostility between the majority and minority of the population (the proportion being in the ratio of rather less than three to two). Socially, however, there would appear to be an almost complete segregation, and in smaller centres it is usual only to employ tradespeople of the householder's religious persuasion. Owing to the fact that in the provinces adjoining the capital there are very few Catholic houses of standing, the society surrounding the Court, with some notable exceptions, is overwhelmingly Protestant. Broadly speaking, the cleft is to a large extent a class distinction, and Catholics are chiefly to be met with among the shopkeeping and peasant classes, more rarely perhaps among the fishing population. This fact may account in part for the lack of fusion above alluded to, as a consequence of which Catholic increase in the Netherlands is said to be mainly a question of

birth-rate. It has been suggested that possibly the identification of the Church with party politics might to some extent obscure her spiritual character in the eyes of non-Catholics. No doubt the crystallization above referred to is also due to diverse social causes. In the words of an eminent ecclesiastic, the Catholic party and the Christian alliance are a necessity, if the Dutch people are to live and legislate for something beyond the material needs of the hour, and if their children are to be taught a code other than the shifting ethics of secularism. However that may be, there is little doubt that even should the alliance, through some unforeseen contingency, cease to exist, the Catholic party would still fight on for their cause —taking, perhaps, for their watchword the motto of the present pontificate: "To restore all things in Christ."

PART II

Supplement on Religious Organization

Political Changes.—In amplication of Lady Acton's accurate exposition of the political status of the Catholics in the Netherlands, we here subjoin some particulars about the religious progress of the country during the last century.

First, we have to record an important change in the state of political parties that occurred after the publication of Lady Acton's article. In the June elections of last year the combined Liberal and Socialist parties succeeded in obtaining a majority of eight in the Second Chamber. This only took place after a campaign in which the united Socialists and Liberals had largely speculated on the general fear occasioned by the prospect of tariff reform, announced by the Catholic and Protestant Coalition Ministry—a campaign in which, alas, obsolete

accusations against the Catholic Church were unscrupulously utilized. As, however, after the elections, the Socialists refused to take a responsible part in the government, the anti-Catholic victory resulted in considerable difficulties for the Liberal party, which had at last to resort to an extra-parliamentary Cabinet formation. The new ministry is not likely to be of long duration, as the coalition has retained its majority in the First Chamber, and a split is imminent in the Liberal-Socialist party, the latter having lost three seats at the bye-elections, two of which were taken after a furious fight by their allies, the Liberals. The Catholic party did not lose a single seat in Parliament, and the Catholics are more united than ever.

The Sacred Ministry.—In Holland no absolute separation between Church and State exists, although their mutual relations can hardly be called cordial. On November 17th, 1871, a small majority of Liberals voted the abolition of our legation at Rome. This act of narrow-minded bigotry was resented by the Catholics, who the year before, in a magnificent outburst of enthusiasm, had sent more than 5000 Zouaves to defend the Papal territory. Since then we no longer have a minister attached to the Papal Court; the only official mediator between the Hague and Rome is the Internuncio of Belgium, residing at Brussels.

The nomination of bishops and the appointment of priests is left entirely in the hands of the Church authorities. The names of those appointed are merely notified to the Government, in order that they may obtain the government pension. All presbyteries that received a state pension in 1848 still enjoy the same, for the number of priests they contained in that year. Parishes erected since that time receive only a scanty endowment. The bishops take a

canonical oath with the conclusion: "All this and every particular I shall observe all the more strictly, as I am fully convinced that the oath contains nothing that could infringe upon the allegiance which I owe to His Majesty the King (Queen) of the Netherlands and his (her) successors."

The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy (restored in 1853) consists of an archbishop, residing at Utrecht, and four suffragans, the Bishops of Haarlem, Bois-le-Duc, Breda, and Roermond. The five dioceses are divided into 76 deaneries and about 1200 parishes and missions. The secular clergy, who number 2310, are assisted by various religious orders and congregations. In 1861 there were about 200 religious houses, in 1888 (according to "Neerlandia Catholica") there were 18 orders and congregations of priests, 14 congregations of brothers, 60 orders of nuns, 525 convents and colleges, containing altogether 11,150 members.

A word must be added about the Dutch clergy working in foreign missions. In the Dutch East Indies there are three apostolic vicariates. The vicariate of Batavia (Java) is ruled by a missionary bishop belonging to the Society of Jesus; the vicariates of Borneo and Sumatra are worked by Dutch Capuchins. In these three vicariates the total number of European Catholics amounts, according to the Catholic Directory of 1913, to 30,125, and that of native Catholics to 37,240. The newly started missions on the smaller islands of the Dutch Indian Archipelago are not included in these figures. In the Dutch West Indies the vicariate of Surinam contains 20,448 Catholics out of about 90,000 inhabitants. Curaçoa numbered in 1870 about 26,000 Catholics, which number in 1901 had increased to 40,817. Porto Rico numbers 82,000 Catholics.

The Missionary Society of Mill Hill consists, to

a considerable extent, of Dutch priests. Other missionary congregations, as the White Fathers of Lavigerie, the Sacred Heart Fathers of Issoudun, the mission priests of Schent near Brussels, have a separate Dutch province, and send large numbers of missionaries to Africa and China.

Catholic Organizations.—The vitality of Catholicism in Holland is amply proved by the large number of Catholic organizations.

Since 1830 as many as 238 associations for charitable purposes have been erected all over the country. The principal one is the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, started by Ozanam in France, and imported into Holland in 1846, when the first conference was established at the Hague.

The following details from the report of the year 1911 will give some idea of the marvellous activity of this Society :—

In the year 1911 there were in existence and actively working 239 conferences, distributed over 167 larger and smaller towns, with an active membership of 4151. During the same year (1911) 8511 poor families were visited, 151 marriages legalized, 12,869 children frequented the Society's elementary schools, and 1360 children its infants' schools. No less than 2947 children were placed in charitable institutions or in private families ; 419 old and sick people were provided for in various asylums ; 302 boys were helped to a trade or employment ; 144 persons were led back to the fulfilment of their religious duties.

The annual expenses of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul are roughly estimated at 1,250,000 guilders. The total value of the Society's funds amounted in 1911 to 3,295,990 guilders.[1] Other ways in which the Society furthers its ends are the establishing of

[1] A guilder is about 1s. 8d. of our money.

people's libraries, and of eating-houses for the poor, the feeding of school children, the procuring of employment, etc.

The Guild of Catholic working men is made up of 168 subdivisions with 41,181 members, of whom about 16,000 belong to the diocese of Haarlem, in which diocese most of the larger towns are situated. The members attend weekly meetings, directed by priests, under whose direction religious and social instruction is given. Along with this union of grown-up and married workmen exists Father Kolping's guild of unmarried young men, for the purpose of entertainment and religious and social instruction in the evenings and on Sundays.

The Central Office of Catholic Social Action, established at Leyden under the presidency of a Catholic member of parliament, affords advice and information on all social subjects, besides publishing its own periodical and any number of pamphlets on social questions. Of late this Central Office has taken up the necessary work of Catholic bioscopes. In various places Catholic bioscopes will be started, and good and cheap films provided for existing bioscopes. The head office at Leyden owns the well-known film, "From the Manger to the Cross." Moreover, in 1909 a Catholic trade union was started as a bulwark against Socialism, which now numbers 24,068 members. According to the weekly magazine of Catholic Social Action, the number of trade unions all over Holland amounted in 1913 to 2800 unions, numbering 189,030 members, against 2543 unions with 168,855 members in 1912. The unions on a religious basis amounted in 1912 to 825 with 38,848 members, but in 1913 had increased to 924 unions with 43,194 members. These figures clearly bring out the rapid growth of Christian unions as opposed to socialistic and neutral ones.

In the diocese of Bois-le-Duc, covering the greater part of the Catholic province of Brabant, hardly a single trade exists which has not been organized on a Catholic footing under the guidance of priests. An agricultural union with 65,000 members helps to promote the farmers' interests by 900 banks of credit for farmers, professional papers, the collective buying of implements, and the collective sale of farm produce. A convent school for peasant girls for the teaching of agriculture and household duties has been founded by a parish priest in the south of Catholic Brabant. The number of minor unions is too large for detailed account. We may mention the societies for the building of houses for working people; the unions for commercial employees and employers; the highly useful Catholic military associations in all garrison towns, which brings the Catholic soldiers and marines together in spacious rooms, where harmless plays and entertainments safeguard them against the by no means imaginary dangers of barrack life. The State allows a yearly grant to twenty-eight of these military association houses.

At the Military Academy of Breda, the official school preparing officers for the army, regular religious instruction is given during class time. The cadets possess their own Guild of St. Ignatius, where lectures are delivered on religious topics, etc.

The Catholic Sunday Schools for boys, chiefly of the labouring classes, numbered 9990 members in 1908, which number in 1912 had grown to 14,094.

The Catholic Temperance Society, established in 1895, counted in 1904 as many as 13,983 male and 21,900 female members; among these 1154 were total abstainers. The corresponding numbers for 1908 were 31,000 and 57,936, of whom 5468 were total abstainers; whilst in 1911 the figures had increased respectively to 34,764 men and 71,832

women, among whom 8157 were total abstainers and 54,774 abstainers from spirits. The Catholic Temperance Society Almanac for 1914, which is just out, gives for 1912 the number of 13,783 total abstainers, and 61,081 abstainers from spirits. The St. Anne Temperance Society for young people included 19,684 families with 58,154 children in 1911 ; in 1912 the latter number shows an increase of 5697. The Temperance movement publishes its own papers, and the large sum of 86,707 guilders has recently been collected for a Catholic Inebriates' Asylum.

The latest Catholic association is the Women's League, erected at Haarlem last year.

Retreats.—A special feature of the social work of our time is the work of retreats, which was actively taken up in Holland in 1906. At the present day there are 10 houses of retreats, 6 for men and 4 for women ; and in many convents besides occasional retreats are given.

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THE CHURCH IN GERMANY AT THE PRESENT DAY

By the Rev. C. LATTEY, S.J.

I. RELIGION IN GERMANY

It is grotesquely erroneous to set Germany down purely and simply as a Protestant country; it is more than a third Catholic, and contains some of the most Catholic provinces in Europe. It is also important to remember that for the most part Catholics and Protestants are not intermixed in a more or less constant proportion, as in England, but that the one or the other usually predominate heavily. Their present distribution is mainly due to the Peace of Westphalia (October 1648), which closed the Thirty Years' War, and practically settled the state-system of Europe till the French predominance of 1789. The lands which then had Catholic lords are Catholic now, and *vice versa*. Both sides carried out strictly the principle, *cuius regio eius religio*, the principle of religion according to territory, at least so far as dissidents could not prove a right to the free practice of their religion dating from the test-year 1624. The later introduction of religious freedom has not essentially altered the distribution, although nowadays there is more fusion. With the exception of Alsace-Lorraine, won from the French in 1871, almost all the Catholic districts now belong to Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg,

Baden, and Hesse. They lie about the Rhine — a Catholic stream if ever there was one—and in the South. The ecclesiastical principalities, which made up most of the Catholic districts, were abolished through the Napoleonic disturbances and the Congress of Vienna; the numerous Catholic secular principalities were absorbed, though the Protestant ones were often allowed to keep their independence.

In matters temporal the Catholic states and provinces have often been unable to maintain their political status. But if we turn to consider the internal condition of German Catholicism and Protestantism, the tale is a very different one. It was impossible that Protestantism should succeed in combining any definite body of doctrine with the principle of private interpretation of Scripture. The glaring inconsistency of this may be illustrated from the Presbyterian penny catechism. The very second question tells us that everyone should be left to extract his own religion from the Bible. Only, in that case, why the Presbyterian penny catechism? Surely its only effect can be to hinder those who learn it from forming any independent conclusion on the subject. The Catholic Church makes her children learn their catechism too, but then she *claims* to have divine authority to teach. Few have exposed more mercilessly this essential flaw in Protestantism than such of its would-be champions as Professor Harnack of Berlin and the late A. Sabatier. The former, for instance, explains how after Luther "subsequent generations settled down more and more into the sad misunderstanding: We are the true Church *because we have the right 'doctrine'*";[1] how, in fact, the old distinction of teachers and taught reappeared, so that, "there is a risk of Protestantism becoming a sorry double of Catholicism."[2] We fear the

[1] *What is Christianity?* by Adolf Harnack. English Translation, p. 298. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 299.

learned professor has only too little ground for alarm. The Protestant claim to teach has been laughed out of court by friend and foe alike. It is still believed in by a multitude of well-meaning Protestants, in Germany as elsewhere, but their leaders of thought have rejected it, and it is only a matter of time for this spirit of independence and scepticism to penetrate the masses. There is taking place a gradual subsidence into unbelief. The process has been greatly accelerated, however, by what may be called the biblical crisis. Within the last fifty years and more archæology and other sciences have opened out for study vast fields of early history hitherto unexplored. While there is much in this mass of new evidence that confirms the narratives of the Old Testament, there is also a good deal which it is as yet not so easy to bring into evident harmony. Such difficulties the modern sceptical critics have exploited to the full, with the result that the whole position of Protestantism has been undermined, and many, believing that their one rule of faith has failed them, have turned agnostics. The Catholic Church alone has taken the crisis calmly. She knows that she has the truth, and that by degrees her children will be able to pick out what is true in all this new learning, and reject the rest. In the meantime the Holy See has taken the two most necessary measures: on the one hand, it has taken care that none in the excitement of the moment reject vital doctrines; on the other hand, by the foundation of the Biblical Institute, it has provided for the more effective training of a body of biblical experts, to be professors in the various seminaries. The very way in which the Church has met the crisis has strengthened another movement, the movement towards her of those who perceive that it will soon be a question of Catholicism or nothing at all. But this movement, which over here has helped to prevent the Oxford movement from ever completely spending its

force, is very weak in Germany, if indeed it can be said to exist at all; while on the other hand such an incident as that of Pastor Jatho in Cologne has brought home to many with a shock how grievously the faith of the Protestants has declined. What this minister was preaching was little short of atheism; yet, when he was condemned and ousted from his living by the council representing the authority of his communion, there was a tremendous outcry, and private subscriptions more than compensated for his losses.

In the first place, then, we have the Catholics of Germany, strong in their faith, and strong in their numbers and unity. Then there are the Protestants of the old type, among whom there is still a good deal of bigotry, mingled with and largely based upon a fair amount of definite belief, but whose position, as has been explained, is being steadily undermined by the growing unbelief. Thirdly, there are what are called the "Liberal" Protestants, who have given up most of the distinctively Protestant dogmas, and whose religion varies much both in depth and definiteness, but is always of the "Modernist" and more or less sentimental type, and pervaded with the principles of the idealist philosopher Kant. Finally, there are the out-and-out unbelievers, ranging from the university professor to the blatant Socialist demagogue. These are the four chief divisions of religious thought, all very numerously represented, though among non-Catholics there are all possible intermediate shades of belief. In gauging their strength it should be remembered that, broadly speaking, inside the Catholic Church it is the right wing which dominates the whole, but outside the Catholic Church the left. It is scarcely necessary to add that the advance of irreligion brings no advantage to the Church, no more in Germany than in Great Britain.

II. CHURCH AND STATE

Where, as in the German Empire, large provinces and whole states are almost entirely Catholic, it is evidently desirable for the Government to have some working understanding—a Concordat, as it is called—with the Holy See. As a matter of fact, the British Empire itself, with its thirteen millions or so of Catholics, would be all the better off for an accredited representative at the Vatican, which is the almost necessary outcome of such an understanding. Negotiations of various sorts there have been and must be, and it would be better to recognize the fact frankly than to perpetuate the fictions of nervous officialdom. But it must not be thought that a Concordat is always an unmixed blessing. For the sake of peace, and to avoid worse evils, the Holy See may feel bound to make concessions which, taken in themselves, could not be said to be for the good of the Church. Nevertheless, once a Concordat has been made, the Holy See has always observed it faithfully, and violation, if it has come at all, has come from the side of the State, as in the case of France and Portugal.

The relations of the German states with the Holy See have been too complicated to be explained in detail, but the main features may here be summarized. The question of representation is not worth entering into in detail, but we may notice that both Prussia and Catholic Bavaria have their official representatives at the Vatican, but neither the Empire as a whole nor any of the other States are formally represented. Nor has the Holy See an accredited representative even to Prussia, but the nuncio to Bavaria at Munich does duty for all Germany. Thus in practice the Empire is amply represented at Rome; but the absence of a nuncio at Berlin has its drawbacks, especially at a time when so many would be

dearly pleased to see a misunderstanding between the two courts, and even work for that purpose.

Before we come to speak of the present German hierarchy and its relation to the State, one must needs tell once more the tale of the *Kulturkampf*. Scarcely had the German Empire as we know it to-day been set on foot, towards the end of the Franco-Prussian War, when Bismarck started his "culture campaign," as it was called in a party programme, a campaign that in reality aimed at the oppression of the Church by the State throughout Germany, but especially in Prussia. The general effect of the legislation thus introduced was to unsettle once more much of the work of ecclesiastical reorganization which had followed the Napoleonic troubles and the Congress of Vienna (1815). From 1871 to 1875 the persecution became ever sharper; after 1876 there was a halt, and from 1880 to 1887 it was breaking up. The Church was to be degraded until, to all intents and purposes, it should be separated from Rome and, thus robbed of its charter of spiritual freedom, should become a mere function of the bureaucracy. Many causes contributed to the adoption of this policy: the discontent at the increasing strength of Catholicism in Prussia; the machinations of the "Old Catholics" who broke off from the Church after the Vatican Council (1870), and still form an insignificant sect; party politics in general; the old *furor protestanticus* which, as among ourselves, is ever dying but never dead; and, finally, the overweening self-confidence of Bismarck himself, who was chiefly responsible for the whole proceeding. In Prussia the Catholic department in the ministry of public worship was suppressed, and a number of laws were passed directed against the influence of the Church in the school, against the proper training and appointment of the clergy, the use of ecclesiastical penalties, the activity of the religious orders, and also concerning civil marriage

and the administration of Church property. Moreover, the articles of the Prussian constitution guaranteeing the Church's freedom were altered in 1873 and abrogated in 1875. Bismarck's attempt to make the *Kulturkampf* international failed. Several archbishops and bishops were imprisoned, and later declared deposed, and finally all loyal priests lost their livings. An impossible oath was prescribed to future bishops, the head of the "Old Catholics" was recognized as a Catholic bishop, and the "Old Catholics" were granted rights to Catholic churches. In this way parishes and sees found themselves widowed, seminaries were closed, religious houses disappeared, there was a collapse of religious doctrine, and beyond question a great loss of authority to the State itself. By continual insults in parliament and press, innumerable press-prosecutions, house-searches, and the like, the sense of right and the religious feelings of the Catholics were deeply wounded. But their behaviour under this persecution fills a glorious page in the history of the Church: Bishops, clergy, and faithful alike displayed an admirable unity, zeal, and self-sacrifice. That doughty champion, Bishop von Ketteler, besides his other exertions, met the *Kulturkampf* with telling pamphlets at every stage; and under Windthorst's able leadership the Catholics united to form a strong party in the Reichstag and Prussian Parliament, which gradually spread its organization into the other States. This was the real birth of the Centre party, which has always defended the rights of the individual and of the several states against absolutism and centralization. It is not, strictly speaking, a denominational party. Its first great triumph was the defeat of Bismarck's policy of persecution. He made overtures which Leo XIII., Pope since 1878, received favourably; there were Conferences at Kissingen and elsewhere, and in 1880 the first of the "peace laws" appeared, giving the Government discretionary powers to

restore the ordinary government of the dioceses. Many new bishops were appointed, and most of the old ones amnestied. Further negotiations followed, which were viewed with some anxiety by the German Catholics. During the critical months February to May, 1887, they were especially fearful; and they only gradually acquiesced in concessions which the event has proved to have been wise. The Church had lost much in rights, independence, influence, property; the articles in the Prussian constitution were not restored, nor was the law exiling the Jesuits repealed. Yet no one has ever doubted that the victory lay with the Catholics. Not merely had they substantially held their own, but they had drawn together, and in that unity had discovered their own strength. Even now the zeal and experience of those early heroes is bearing fruit in vigorous organizations which date back to the days of stress. The State had suffered more than the Church. It had exerted all its power, and had met with a severe repulse. To us now it seems almost incredible that Bismarck should have thought to consolidate the new Empire by a savage attack upon the religion of such a large part of the population.

The *Kulturkampf*, as has been said, was predominantly a Prussian affair, but the whole empire was to some extent involved, and the present settlement between Church and State may be everywhere conveniently and safely dated from it, though the papal or civil enactments on which those settlements are based often go back farther still. These latter differ considerably among themselves, for the empire as such was and is supposed to have nothing to do with ecclesiastical affairs, which are reserved to the individual states. In general it may be said that in Prussia and Bavaria the Church meets with substantial justice, while in Saxony and the smaller Protestant states it does not.

In the German Empire there are five provinces and

archbishoprics, fourteen suffragan and six exempt bishoprics, three Apostolic vicariates and two Apostolic prefectures: in all, thirty greater units of jurisdiction. This number is inadequate, but to attempt to increase it in the present state of affairs would be imprudent, and coadjutor bishops can supply in large measure the lack of suffragans. The bishops are elected by the cathedral chapters, except in Bavaria, where they are chosen by agreement between the Government and Rome. Usually the chapter, after a secret meeting, proposes as many candidates as it wishes to the Government, which, if it please, may strike out all but three, from among whom the chapter then makes the definite election, which is ratified by the Holy See. The canons themselves are chosen in alternate months by the Government and by the bishop. Pious canons have been known to pray that they might die in a bishop's month, and even to resign then! In Bavaria, bishop and chapter choose alternately in these months. In the Upper Rhenish Church province, however, including Baden, Wurtemberg, etc., and in Osnabrück and Hildesheim, the bishops are selected by Rome from a terna chosen by the chapters, the members of which are themselves appointed in alternate months by bishop and chapter. But "in the kingdom of Saxony and in Saxe-Weimar all ecclesiastical ordinances and appointments, even those issued from Rome, as well as the erection of new churches, etc., are subject to the approval of the Government. Appeal to Rome is forbidden. In the other small Thuringian States, and in Brunswick and Mecklenburg, the Catholics even recently had to submit their parochial affairs to the authority of the Protestant pastors, and in part Catholics even now pay tithes to the Protestant pastors for this unsought-for service. The building of churches and establishment of schools are also subject to galling restrictions" (Dr Martin

Spahn of Strassburg in the *Catholic Encyclopædia*, s.v. "Germany").

III. PARISH AND SCHOOL

After all, it is the salvation of the individual soul for which the Church primarily exists; but we, who cannot unlock the secrets of hearts, must be content to judge the tree by its fruits, to confine our attention to that exterior life of which the parish is the lowest unit and the most certain expression. Parish differs much from parish; there is the parish of the town and the country, of the Catholic districts and of the "Dispersion," as it is called, where the Catholics are in a more or less considerable minority. But there are features common to all. The German parishes still labour under the organization imposed upon them during the *Kulturkampf*. Like the Protestant pastor, the Catholic parish priest has an advisory board of five or eight members, with a sort of parish council of twenty or more. Without the consent of the latter he can do very little, especially in money matters, and its opposition would almost always be a fatal block to him in his business with the Government. As a matter of fact, he can generally secure the election of the right men by the parish both for board and council; but it may be imagined to what straits he is reduced if, as has actually happened before now, he finds himself face to face with, say, a Socialist majority in them.

It must be admitted that the "mailed fist" species of administration has had one great advantage. Religious instruction being prescribed, the State takes care that it is given, and given properly, with the result that the German Catholics are among the best instructed in the world. The primary schools which, by a peculiarly democratic arrangement, absolutely all children have to attend for three or four years, are usually denominational; though in Baden, part of Bavaria, and two provinces of

Prussia, they are neutral. The parish priest supervises the religious instruction in the Catholic schools, and is often, though to a decreasing extent, the local school inspector. Secondary education is undenominational in practically all its forms, and under State or municipal control; schools for girls, however, are mostly under private and denominational management, being largely conducted by nuns, whose task Government regulations make far from easy. But ample opportunity is always given for religious instruction—in Prussia, for example, five hours a week. The Liberals, it is true, would like to make all schools undenominational; but the Germans as a race recognize the important part played by religion in the training of the child. Irreligion is gaining ground fast enough without a propaganda in the schools; it is folly to do anything but strengthen all forces that make for Christianity and sound morals. The excellence of German education as a whole is too widely recognized to need to be emphasized here; but that does not save us from a stampede towards godless schools and the paganizing of the young. Nevertheless, the virtue and happiness of the home is built up in the school; and the homes of the German Catholics are not merely an object-lesson in their native land, but the consolation of many a parish priest elsewhere.

Not that all is plain sailing; no one who knows the industrial energy of modern Germany would expect that. There, as elsewhere, there has been a tremendous increase in the number of great cities. Taking 100,000 inhabitants as the standard, the Empire contained eight great cities in 1870, fifteen in 1880, twenty-six in 1890, thirty-three in 1900, and forty-seven in 1910. And what a multitude of problems this rush to the cities brings with it! One great difference between the country and the city parish is, that in the latter the parishioners do not know each

other nearly so well, and therefore there is less mutual control and corporate feeling. Nor can the priest easily watch over his increasing flock, for an industrial population is an easily shifting one. It is also a disadvantage that the problem was not seen in its true light and in its true proportions from the outset, so that socialism was to some extent the first to move, with the terrible result that in Germany, as in some other countries, there was a certain tendency to look upon the organized workman as almost of necessity an enemy of God. Nowadays, of course, there is nothing of this; but that only means that the true difficulties are coming to be more and more realized—the modern strain upon the nerves which makes it so difficult for the worker to turn his mind to spiritual things; the greater abundance of pleasure and the glitter of a false culture.

Grossstadtseelsorge—"The Cure of Souls in Great Cities"—is the title of a book by the late Dr. Heinrich Swoboda (Ratisbon, Pustet, 1909), a priest of Vienna, which will probably be found to mark an epoch. It is a scientific study of the subject indicated in its title. Valuable in the data and conclusions which it actually presents to the reader, it is still more valuable in pointing the way to further investigations on a large scale which are certain to be of great service to the Church and her pastors. His moral is a simple one. Every effort should be made, in the first place, to secure an adequate number of parishes and parish priests; in the second place, to secure personal contact between priest and people.

According to this writer, the number of souls in a diocese should never be over 500,000, in a parish never over 6000, a figure which should only be allowed in great cities, where the inhabitants are close together, and would require four priests. He is fully aware of the importance of organization and of the lay apostolate, but

what he especially emphasizes, and especially praises in British pastoral methods, is the principle of the Good Shepherd Himself seeking the lost sheep, and the multiplication of churches in proportion to the multiplication of the population.

The German dioceses are indeed gigantic. Germany and Austria are unique in this matter. Paris is the largest diocese in the world, and must be getting on to 4,000,000 souls by now; but the second largest is Breslau (which includes Berlin), with almost 3,000,000 Catholics in the German Empire alone, and another 362,954 (so Swoboda: really more now) in Austria; next comes Cologne, with 2,795,438 souls (1st Dec. 1905). Each of these three probably contains more Catholics than are to be found in Great Britain, with its twenty-two dioceses!

Moreover, the dioceses of Münster, Paderborn, Treves, Gnesen-Posen, Munich, and Freiburg, all number over a million, and several others are not far off. It will be seen, therefore, that the need for an increase in the number of dioceses is an urgent one, which the creation of coadjutor bishops can hardly be said to meet satisfactorily; but such a step could scarcely be taken without the consent of the States concerned, and it may easily be that a more propitious moment is awaited, for at present any move in that direction would almost certainly provoke an outburst of Protestant bigotry.

And, after all, the relative size of the diocese is less important than that of the parish. How does Germany stand as regards the parish? The best way of estimating this appears to be to compare the number of the secular clergy on the active list with that of the faithful; in some dioceses the regular clergy lend yeoman help, and in others are debarred by the State from rendering any help at all; but it would take too long to go into such questions minutely. The greatest shortage of priests is

in the Apostolic Vicariate corresponding roughly with the kingdom of Saxony, in which eighty-nine priests, without any help, have charge of 227,702 faithful, an average of 2558 per priest. The only other diocese with an average over 2000 is the enormous one of Breslau, but nearly all the Northern dioceses are over 1000. In the more Catholic South, on the other hand, nearly all average under 1000; the difference between North and South is not quite so great, however, as this might seem to imply, for in the latter, and especially in Bavaria, a large proportion of the secular clergy are occupied with education. On the whole, then, the statistics are fairly satisfactory, and are rendered still more so by the promise in the universities and seminaries of an increasing number of priests in the future. Only in the Protestant East, as was to be expected, neither the present condition of things nor the future prospect is all that could be desired, but perhaps the more Catholic parts will come to learn to succour the "Dispersion" in this respect as effectively as they do in others. Yet it is in Berlin that Dr. Swoboda finds the best parallel to that energetic setting up of new parishes as required which he praises so much in London. The need of church-building, however, like that of house-to-house visiting, is coming to be more and more widely recognised, and it is not improbable that Dr. Swoboda's book may help to a wider acceptance of what he calls British methods and ideals—which, however, are truly Catholic, backed up as they are by the declarations and enactments of councils elsewhere, both general and provincial, and of the popes.

IV. CATHOLIC LIFE

The Catholic Germans are men of ancient faith; yet theirs is a piety not of empty sentiment, but embracing all that is solid and practical. How solid and practical

it really is has been ably set forth by Father C. Plater, S.J., in his book, *Catholic Social Work in Germany* (Sands, 1s. net.), comprising four articles published in the *Dublin Review* of 1908–9. There the reader may learn how Bishop von Ketteler made it his life-work to call the Catholics to arms, to rouse them from their apathy and set them to the task of social reform; how the annual Catholic Congresses, founded in 1848, came to be the source and centre, not merely of that reform, but of all manner of sound Catholic activities; finally, how these mighty meetings are not the expression of a mere spasmodic enthusiasm, but of a steady and scientific effort to solve the great problems that confront Catholic life to-day. Our modern civilization is so one-sided that it constitutes in some ways a tremendous strain upon the Christianity of the nations; indeed, outside the Catholic Church, European Christianity is breaking beneath the strain, and the Church herself suffers losses of this kind, although, as always, Divine Providence more than makes up for them elsewhere and in other ways. But it is naturally to the German Catholics that we look, and not in vain, to show us that no problem is so great but that careful study and living faith together can solve it. The poor, the sick, workmen and artisans, factory girls—all find help and guidance in their various needs, not merely from the ministers of the Church in what is directly spiritual, but also from her other faithful children in all else that concerns their welfare.

One difficulty there was till lately, and it would be a serious suppression of the truth were we to pass it over in silence. Now, however, after careful deliberation, Rome has spoken, and we doubt not that the unswerving loyalty of the German Catholics to the Holy See will show itself in that mutual peace which the Holy Father so much desires. Speaking broadly, the labour organizations of Catholic Germany may be divided into two

groups, those of the Berlin school and those of the Cologne school. In Berlin Catholic men and women are organized in purely Catholic associations, with strictly Catholic membership, Catholic principles, and Catholic Government; in Cologne the Catholic working-men are grouped in labour syndicates, which, while professing Christian ideals, are not directly under the control of ecclesiastical authorities, and freely admit non-Catholics to their ranks. Unfortunately the two groups have not always worked smoothly together. Here we can attempt no history of their mutual relations, but need only note the final settlement of the question, in an encyclical dated 24th September 1912. Briefly, the Holy Father lays it down that the purely Catholic associations are in themselves much more desirable, though they may, with proper precautions, ally themselves with non-Catholic societies for common ends, such as the betterment of the working classes. He declares, however, at the request of "not a few" of the German bishops, that the inter-denominational or "Christian" syndicates may be tolerated in their dioceses, so long as new circumstances do not arise to make this tolerance inexpedient or wrong. Two precautions are insisted on: the first, that the Catholic workmen should also belong to confraternities of a definitely religious character; secondly, the syndicates must not be in actual conflict with the doctrine or discipline of the Church. The bishops are to observe how they are conducted, and see that the Catholics take no harm. Finally, His Holiness bids all good Catholics cease from disputes on the matters, reserves to himself the settlement of any difficulties that may arise, and ends with a stirring prayer for Catholic Germany.

In this chapter we touch upon various important aspects of German Catholic life without attempting to follow any strict logical sequence. From the mention

of labour organisations we may come to guilds and sodalities. These one may always expect to find thriving in a parish, both those of the more local kind and those which are essentially branches of wider associations. Some of the more important of these latter are described in *Catholic Social Work in Germany*, the *Gesellenverein* for Catholic journeymen, the *Bonifatiusverein* for helping the Catholics of the more Protestant parts or "Dispersion" with churches, schools, and the like, the *Borromaeusverein* for the diffusion of Catholic literature, and others, all of them doing a magnificent work. Guilds of a more parochial kind effect the spiritual organisation of the parish. These are too well known at home to need description. Suffice it to note that while Dr. Swoboda was possibly right in thinking German pastoral methods upon the whole a little behind our own as regards the personal contact of priest and people, they appear to surpass our own in the organization of flourishing guilds.

The spiritual life of the individual is still further served by the systematic giving of retreats, which is part of a general movement all over the Church to intensify the inner life, where the outer has become so distracting and alluring. An excellent account of this movement, both in Germany and elsewhere, will be found in *Retreats for the People*, also by Father Plater. In England the movement is making good progress; London and Lancashire both have their house of retreat, and a fresh one has lately been opened further north, near Newcastle. A day or two of peaceful thought with God sends men back to their parish full of happiness and apostolic energy. In Germany all classes are methodically provided for. Two significant features may be mentioned. Shrovetide, the time of Carnival, is a distinctly dangerous season for the young men and women; but they are coming to make retreats precisely at that time in increasing numbers.

Many convents have retreats then which do not have them at other times. One convent that started with about twenty at the retreat now has close on a thousand factory girls every year, housed literally all over the place.

For the young men the chief danger of their lives is often the Army; conversation may not be as clean as it should be, bad companions cannot be avoided, and there are obviously a multitude of temptations, especially for the simple peasants that are the real strength of the country. This danger is also being met by special retreats for Catholic recruits. There must be about 70,000 Catholic recruits every year, of whom at present about 6000 make a private retreat before joining the colours. During the two preceding months all possible houses are employed for the purpose, and there are also public retreats of eight days. In one house a Catholic non-commissioned officer used to give the men a few straight practical talks during the time. Patriotism, it need hardly be said, suffers nothing from these retreats, but gains; and it is equally evident that Empire and Army profit from the men being thus steadied before they begin service.

We may come now to that never-failing product of a vigorous Catholic life, the religious state. According to official statistics on 31st December 1909, there were in the kingdom of Prussia, to confine ourselves to that, 2240 religious houses of various kinds, and 33,012 religious. There is good reason to believe that the latter figure is really too high; but a good deal depends on the way of reckoning. Supposing the number, however, to be 33,012, of these, according to the same statistics, over 2000 men and over 25,000 women are engaged in nursing the sick and other works of charity; 287 men and 910 women are engaged in the contemplative life, 1522 men in the care of souls, and 2396 women in the secondary education of girls. Male education is a Government monopoly. The Jesuits, it should

also be noted, are not represented in these statistics, for, popular as is their cause with the mass of the Catholics, they are not yet allowed to form a community in the country. At first the Redemptorists, the Fathers of the Holy Ghosts, the Lazarists, and the Sacred Heart nuns shared their exile as being "connected" with them; but since 1894 it is only in the case of the latter two that the Government professes to find this mysterious "connection."

It must not be thought that it is only with the Prussian Catholics—over fourteen millions in number—that the religious engaged in works of charity occupy themselves. It is to all the forty millions and more of Prussians, Protestants, Jews, or whatever they be, that they devote their charity; and though certain fanatics are always ready to hurl the charge of proselytism and other accusations at them, the hundreds of thousands of non-Catholics who throng the Catholic hospitals are a sufficient refutation of such charges. France has recklessly turned out religious, and prefers to pay a high price for inefficiency; Germany, to a large extent, knows its own good fortune better. The first and supreme requisite in a hospital is true Christian charity.

It must not be thought, however, that the orders and congregations have a free hand in Germany. Quite apart from those in exile, the establishment of their houses is everywhere subject to the approval of the particular state. In Wurtemberg and Baden only female institutes are allowed; in Saxony and the smaller Protestant States only nursing sisterhoods.

Another point we notice about German Catholicism is its learning. Germany is, indeed, a great centre of infidelity. Any old weapon is enough to assault the Church with, provided it come from a German workshop; and it is thence, too, that the more formidable attacks, undertaken under the specious names of science, progress,

and the rest, have in the last resort their origin. But it should also be remembered that it is in Germany, too, that these attacks are often best confuted, and many of the most important Catholic standard works written. The books of the Liberal Protestants or agnostics are translated quickly enough, but unfortunately it is not always so easy to translate the Catholic answer. This is certainly another reason for regretting that the Catholics of these islands are not so familiar with the German tongue and German Catholic life as they are with those of France. At the present moment, however, so much is being published in France of solid and permanent value, that the scale inclines less heavily on the side of Germany than it did. As far as more popular literature goes, there seems to be nothing abroad quite equal to our Catholic Truth Societies. The German *Volksverein* at Gladbach, however, is very efficient both in lectures and writing. The daily press is strong and vigorous, with the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* and the *Germania* in the van, and many local papers. It is a healthy sign that the prefix *Volks* to a paper ("for the people") is a sure token that it is Catholic.

Another truly Catholic trait there is which has ever appealed to the Catholics of these islands, namely, the pilgrimages, often organised by parishes. One well-known place of pilgrimage is Kevelaer, near the Rhine. It was started by peasants who sought our Lady's protection during the troubles of the Thirty Years' War, in 1642. There is a chapel set apart for confessions, and, as the Dutch frontier is quite near, several of the confessionals are reserved to that language. From July to November there come roughly 500 processions and 600,000 pilgrims. In front of the fine church is the shrine and statue of our Lady, with lattice-work enclosing the altar. It is not without emotion that the stranger from a Protestant country finds himself kneeling in the

open square, with pilgrims coming in from all parts, praying the rosary aloud as they pass. The Catholic life of a people is a beautiful sight before God and man.

V. LOSS AND GAIN

The chief causes of alteration in the relative proportion of denominations appear to be four, namely, disproportionate natural increase, disproportionate shares in emigration and immigration, changes of religion, and disproportionate shares of children from mixed marriages. As regards natural increase, only Prussia, Bavaria, and Bremen furnish the necessary statistics of the religion of parents. There can be no doubt that there, as in England, the most fruitful marriages are those where both parents are Catholic. Prussia may be taken as representative, the more so because it contains almost a third of the population of the Empire. On 1st December 1905 it was 62·59 per cent. Protestant and 35·80 per cent. Catholic; but 39 per cent. of the children born in lawful wedlock were from Catholic pairs, and only 53·9 per cent. from Protestant pairs. In 1909 the figures were 40·2 per cent. Catholic and 52·6 per cent. Protestant children, the Protestants numbering 61·82 per cent. of the population and the Catholics 36·31. To these should properly be added the children from mixed marriages, of which almost three-fifths are afterwards Protestant. But mixed marriages supply only 6·3 per cent. of children born in lawful wedlock. Reckoning these as three-fifths Protestants and two-fifths Catholics, the total figure becomes 56·4 per cent. Protestant and 42·7 per cent. Catholic. The great disproportion between the percentage of the population and the percentage of children is evident. Worked out another way, statistics show that the Catholics average roughly one child more per family; but the figures

available for that calculation do not come down later than 1900. It should be mentioned that of the 100,134 born out of lawful wedlock in 1909 there were 68·5 per cent. born of Protestant mothers and 31·1 per cent. of Catholic, figures which should once more be compared with the proportion of population. But the total number of children for the year was 1,287,030, so that this last item cannot in any case have increased the proportion of Protestant children to more than 1 per cent. of the whole; the actual figures are not forthcoming.

Natural increase, then, makes strongly for a proportional increase in the Catholic population. Immigration also appears to do so, in a way that far outweighs a probable loss on emigration. In the 1900 census, out of 823,597 born out of Germany, 554,370 were Catholics and only 215,945 Protestants, an increase to the Catholics of about 300,000 when compared to the proportion inside Germany. In the 1905 census the disproportion was increased to about 400,000. This Catholic immigration is chiefly from the Austrian Empire, Russian Poland, and Italy. There was a considerable exodus from Alsace-Lorraine after the Franco-Prussian War, and the emigration from Baden, Bavaria, and Oldenburg must tend to decrease the proportion of Catholics in the Empire as a whole. But at present there appears to be nothing that really counterbalances the heavy immigration just recorded. The 1910 census, however, makes it clear that the Catholic gain on immigration is a decreasing one, though we have not seen the figures worked out fully.

To come now to changes of religion. The number of apostates from Catholicism may come as a shock to some; yet should we not ourselves beware of living in a fool's paradise? Protestant ecclesiastical statistics appear to be the only available ones; they give the annual average as follows:—

	1896–1900.		1901–1905.	
	Catholics become Protestants.	Protestants become Catholics.	Catholics become Protestants.	Protestants become Catholics.
Prussia . .	4063	360·8	5390·2	430·8
Germany . .	5178·2	685·2	7587·6	794·8

As regards the number of apostates, these figures are doubtless, in the main, reliable. Most of the losses to Protestantism are in Silesia, in Berlin and Brandenburg, in Saxony, and in the Rhenish and Westphalian provinces. The diocese of Breslau accounts for a third alone (2886 in 1905). In Saxony it has been large only since 1899; the *Los von Rom* movement in Bohemia, whence most of the Catholics came, certainly had an influence there, and also intolerant laws. In the Catholic South there is little apostasy. Its causes are mixed marriages, and also the stream of internal immigration in Germany from the Protestant East and centre to the Catholic West. It is the same provinces that have most mixed marriages and most apostasies.

But the converts from Protestantism are set far too low in the above table, though the Protestant ministers are in good faith. In the same way Catholic statistics are apt to underrate Catholic losses. But converts from Protestantism have far the better reason to keep the matter quiet, for they might easily suffer for their change. For the same reason the Catholic authorities have no desire to publish figures, because it might lead to persecution of their converts and themselves. Already there are endless difficulties when there is question of new parishes or new religious houses. As a matter of fact, the Catholic priests make little attempt to gain converts, but there is always the inevitable and divine attraction

of the Church. In the case of Prussia the figures given above should probably be multiplied by ten.

As will be clear, whatever the precise numbers are, they are too small to make any serious difference, especially as they probably come near to cancelling each other. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the Church suffers a heavy loss through mixed marriages. In the first place, it is certain that more than half the children are brought up as Protestants. In 1905 in Prussia 423,895 such children were being brought up as Protestants, and only 321,955 as Catholics. Nor is this difficult to understand. In the greater part of Prussia it is the father who settles the religion of the child; and whereas Protestant ministers and school inspectors can easily have the law enforced, the representations of Catholic priests are coldly received, and eventually they sometimes lose courage. This unequal treatment is the easier because the law itself is a little ambiguous, and the decisions of the higher courts not absolutely uniform. And in general, it must be remembered that it may often be for the worldly interest of the Catholic child to follow the Protestant parent. Unhappily, mixed marriages are on the increase; the only consolation is that the acceleration in the proportion has sunk.

This, however, would not of itself diminish the total proportion of Catholics; there is another reason for the loss on mixed marriages which affects the welfare of the whole nation; it is their ominous sterility. It has already been mentioned that in 1909 mixed marriages supplied only 6·3 per cent. of children born in lawful wedlock; but the actual proportion of such marriages in 1908—to take the latest available figure—was as high as 9·7. Here we have at least one cause of that sinking in the birth-rate which is found in Germany no less than elsewhere, though that of Germany compares very favourably with most other countries.

Now that the chief causes at work have been run through, it only remains to give the total result in figures. Between 1st December 1905 and 1st December 1910, the number of Protestants in the Empire rose from 37,646,852 to 39,991,421—that is, it fell from 62·08 to 61·59 per cent.; that of the Catholics rose from 22,109,644, to 23,821,453—that is, from 36·46 to 36·69 per cent. It ought to be mentioned that there was a slight difference in the classification in the two years, marking an increased accuracy; but it was not of a nature to vitiate the above comparison between the two great communions, the Catholic and the "Evangelical." All the other German Christians together do not number 300,000.

In conclusion, we may offer a few remarks upon the spiritual forces at work. What we have said in the first chapter must be borne in mind. In the case of Protestant peoples we not merely have pastoral ideals which fall far below the Catholic standard, and necessarily fail to cope with the great bulk of the population, but also a dry rot from within, the abandonment of one article of belief after another, a rationalism that starts from the leaders of thought and gradually permeates the masses. There is no foundation of dogma upon which to build a solid and lasting revival. That is what makes the outlook, humanly speaking, so hopeless; it appears to be merely a question of time how long it will take to saturate the Protestant population of Europe with rationalism; and the cheap—very cheap—propaganda that is being so vigorously pushed forward forbids us to think that the time will be very long, even among those to whom Luther is still "the man of God." In England the situation is complicated by the High Church party, the more advanced section of which certainly set a high value on Catholic dogma. How long these few will be able to remain in communion with those on whom the dry rot has had its full effect, remains to be seen; but it may be

hoped that when the inevitable choice comes between the Church or nothing, they may have grace to stand firm to their principles. In Scotland this complication does not exist; in this, as in some other features, it more nearly resembles Germany than it does England.

Is there then no hope? We cannot say that. The abyss yawns too wide for those who are wide awake not to perceive it, and when they draw back in horror from this pit of negations, so ruinous to all that is best and noblest in man, they at times come to understand that their one sure refuge is the Catholic Church. So it befell Dr Albert von Ruville lately, a University Professor of Modern History in Halle. His book, *Zurück zur heiligen Kirche*, appeared in Berlin early in 1910, and from the first had a tremendous sale: the English translation, *Back to Holy Church*, has been edited, with a preface, by Mgr. Benson (Longmans). He first tells the tale of his conversion, shortly but carefully, before treating various points of belief in detail. Like some converts whose first impulse has come from reading Littledale's *Plain Reasons*, he arrived at positive belief through the reading of Harnack's *Essence of Christianity*, for he felt that Harnack's presentment of the person of Christ was of itself enough to upset the rest of his argument. But the fervent faith in which he now felt assured was unwelcome even to the more pious Protestants; his frequent visits to churches, for example, and attempts at conversation about religion were thought exaggerated, and not quite the thing. He also felt it as a difficulty that intellectually his position was one to which the people at large could hardly attain, and which afforded no basis for a new and positive church. The first breach in his traditional prejudices was the need he felt of a teaching power, absolutely independent of the State and of popular movements. This he saw in the papacy; but it was years before Möller's *Symbolik* overcame his last

difficulty, and led him to see the tremendous significance of the Holy Eucharist, in a way that entirely dissipated the great difficulty he had felt in transubstantiation. The Catholic friends and relatives whose former coolness had somewhat discouraged him, now showed themselves overjoyed at his conversion, which they had left to God alone; and with confession and Holy Communion he passed from deep reflections into living facts, from struggle to sure joy. But his former fellows took his conversion worse than if he had become a "liberal" Protestant, a free-thinker, or an atheist; "I recognised that their so-called tolerance embraced all that man would, save only the truth."

A little later von Ruville wrote another striking book, which also had a great sale: a study of humility, that flower of true Christianity which only comes to perfect beauty in the Church. That his conversion has made a deep impression is evident; but it is too early to speak with any certainty as to its effects. Among non-Catholic writers, F. W. Foerster, of the University of Zürich, has ably defended the function of religion in education, and in some other respects has shown himself in close sympathy with Catholic principles. His views on Church authority and dogma, however, scarcely allow us to speak of him as definitely displaying Catholic tendencies, though for many he is lessening the breach that sunders them from the Catholic Church. Of strictly Catholic apologists, it need hardly be said, there is an able and zealous company.

And so we take leave of Catholic Germany, with a prayer, surely, that that Church may ever meet more modern needs with the same fearless energy that she has displayed in the past; with a conviction, too, that it is good for us to study and understand the methods there in vogue. The two great Empires that now stand facing each other, different in almost every conceivable way,

have at least this in common, that it is for the welfare of the Church that they should suffer no great hurt. In the one the Church is firmly established, and numbers more than a third of the home population; in the other she numbers already about thirteen millions of her children, and amid free institutions is developing to the full the riches of her supernatural life. The Catholics of two such Empires, therefore, should not allow themselves to be blinded by narrow national prejudices; their patriotism should not be of that bigoted and exclusive kind which refuses just esteem and sympathy to others. There are some religions which only serve to feed such mean and unworthy sentiments; but the Church that is truly Catholic opens wide our hearts, till we recognize everywhere our fellow-members in the mystical body of Christ.

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THE CHURCH IN PORTUGAL

The Portuguese Crisis from the Religious Point of View

By the Rev. C. Torrend, S.J.

Translated by the Rev. O. Kellet, S.J.

I. A Retrospect: The Church under the Monarchy

If we study the history of Portugal from the time of Pombal to our days, and if we accept the testimony of Portuguese who can remember the conditions of the epoch, now somewhat remote, when the Liberalism of 1834 reigned supreme in Portugal, not only in politics but also in religion, we shall be brought face to face with facts that throw a clear light on the subject before us.

We must notice, in the first place, that before the time of Pombal religious life in Portugal had attained a prosperity and an activity probably unrivalled in Europe. More than any other country, Portugal was the nursing mother of a valiant army of apostles, who carried the faith to the extremities of the vast Portuguese colonies, in spite of many hardships and sacrifices, and in spite of death itself.

The reign of the all-powerful Pombal was a calamity for the Portuguese Church and for the whole kingdom. The war he waged against the nobility, and then the expulsion of the Society of Jesus (which had become an almost indispensable factor in the fostering of the religious spirit, and also

of the patriotic spirit, not only at home but in the vast possessions across the seas), completely disorganized Portuguese society, which until then had been so prosperous. The clergy was the only organized force remaining. Unfortunately, they were not entirely independent of the State on account of the Crown privileges, and Pombal, working these privileges with a savage energy, soon put an end to any efforts of resistance on the part of the Portuguese Church.

During the first years of the Liberal *régime* of 1834, relations with Rome were interrupted. While disorder thus reigned in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the sectarian Government employed the most dastardly means to render the priesthood odious in the eyes of the people. They succeeded only too well. Among the various measures taken with this object, we may mention the ordinations *en masse* conducted by Bishops forgetful of their duties, in favour of incapable or unworthy subjects, for no other reason than that there were many places vacant to which rich benefices were attached. Other strange facts are given, showing that the sacred character of the ministry was practically left out of count. The case of a certain hatter in Lisbon is not the only one of its kind. He was invited by his friend the Vicar-General of the Patriarchate to take office as parish priest of Gollegã. Although the latter had not the power to ordain priests, that did not prevent the improvised parish priest from exercising priestly functions for many years without the smallest word of protest on the part of people or clergy.

We must, however, note carefully that, in spite of their weakness and their almost universal Liberalism, the Portuguese clergy did not then dare to cut adrift from Rome.

Unfortunately, this state of things was not confined

to the few years which followed the advent of the Liberal *régime*. The evil was rather aggravated in the following period, during which the various parties that succeeded each other developed their methods and came to consider the clergy as a most important electoral element. Parish priests and canons were no longer chosen on account of their fitness for this or that position in the Church, but because of the hope they gave that they would fall in with the policy of the Minister of Justice who happened to be in office. In 1845 a decree of the Government deprived the Bishops of any freedom of action in the direction of their seminaries; in 1862 a new decree further restricted their already limited powers with regard to the choice of parish priests or curates. Again, a seminarian could not be raised to the subdiaconate without leave of the Government.

It need hardly be mentioned that all these odious measures failed to arouse the least opposition. The clergy had become too subservient, and militant Catholics were too few or too disorganized to think of offering resistance. From the beginning of this gloomy period up to within a year or two of the pontificate of Leo XIII., one of the strongest recommendations for the nomination of one of the clergy to the Episcopate was, that he had satisfied the tests of Liberalism which the Government required, or that he was a Freemason or at least had come to an understanding with the sect. A distinguished Portuguese, who has been living in London for more than forty years, assures me that at the time when he left Portugal it was notorious that all the canons of the Cathedral of Lisbon, with the exception of two, were Freemasons, and that the new members of the Episcopate were usually chosen from among their number.

This rapid survey provides us with a sufficient

answer to many questions. In the enervating climate wherein the strongest wills may bend, with the fiery character of the Latin race, rendered still more ardent under the southern sun, it is evident that these demoralizing factors can be counteracted only by the religious spirit powerfully organized.

Poinsard had good reason to complain of the falling off of morality in Portuguese families, and he was right in adding that formerly the religious spirit and the moral instruction of the Church remedied any defects that might be due to inadequate training.[1]

But if those who ought to be the salt of the earth are the first to become centres of corruption, what shall we say of the people whose regeneration is confided to such pastors?

However, towards the beginning of the pontificate of Leo XIII. an event took place which was to exercise an important influence on the reform of the clergy. This was the arrival in Lisbon of the Nuncio Luigi Mazella, the future cardinal. Gifted with a remarkable sagacity, and with untiring energy, he quickly grasped the situation in which the Portuguese clergy found themselves. He began at once to use all the means in his power to defend the rights of the Church, and determined to nominate prelates of his own choice, in spite of the Liberal Government. An opportunity soon presented itself on the death of two Bishops whose sees the Government of Dom Luiz wished to fill with two of its own nominees, according to what had now become the established custom. Mgr. Mazella offered the most vigorous resistance to their nomination. Learning that Costa Cabral, the Portuguese Ambassador to the Holy See, counteracted the effect of his reports to Rome, he prevailed upon a commission of influential

[1] "Almeida Garret," *Memorias Biographicas*, p. 134. (vol. xxii. of complete works, Lisbon, 1904).

Catholics to go to Rome and offer a full explanation to His Holiness. If it is true that he failed in this first attempt to curb the abuse of the regalist privileges, and that he was even recalled and was looked upon with disfavour by the Pope for some time, it is not less true that he aroused the attention of the Roman Curia to the situation in Portugal and contributed powerfully to the good cause by showing the direction in which political resistance was to proceed in future. His successor, Mgr. (now Cardinal) Vanutelli, actually succeeded in setting aside one of the new prelates whose nomination had been the cause of strife between Mgr. Mazella and the Portuguese Government.

The year 1879 marks an important stage in the reform of the clergy in Portugal.

In the condition of things which we have just been describing, it is easy to understand what ravages were caused by irreligion and destructive doctrines in all classes of the people. Lisbon and its environs (where the livings and ecclesiastical benefices were specially sought for by the most influential of the political or Liberal priests) had become a centre of dissoluteness and vice. The development of an ignoble Press in the midst of a wretched population deprived of worthy pastors completed the work of demoralization. In the country districts, however, where a certain number of priests worthy of their high calling were still able to hold their parishes, in the north especially, the faith was kept with a tenacity and touching simplicity which could not be equalled anywhere in Europe, except perhaps in Ireland.

It needed, therefore, no very keen powers of observation to be able to predict that this country, and Lisbon especially, would soon fall a prey to demagogues of the most revolutionary type.

Still, certain patriotic spirits were aroused and began to examine seriously into the critical condition of the country. First of all, the clergy saw the Episcopate gradually becoming more worthy. The new Bishops began to reform their seminaries; they introduced once again the practice of making retreats; and thus was formed in each diocese an *élite* of priests full of zeal and initiative, whose influence could not fail to have some effect on the great number of lukewarm or unworthy priests who surrounded them.

Again, young men who had been trained in Catholic colleges began to feel more and more the necessity of a reaction against the godless doctrines which were corrupting all classes and threatening the nation with a complete disintegration. For some years now they have been forming militant groups in each town, especially in Lisbon and Coimbra, and with all the ardour of youth have been actively employed in disseminating sane principles in every quarter.

These two movements in the clergy and in young men's societies were accompanied by another movement in the domain of politics. The Liberal *rotativismo* (the system by which the two parties among the Liberals assumed office in rotation) was coming to an end. Although Liberalism had abandoned its revolutionary and anti-clerical utopias of 1834, it had not become more popular or more useful to the country. There were few or no real statesmen; popular education had been neglected; and the plague of functionarism had developed to an alarming extent.

Moreover, an extremist party had been formed, which under cover of republican and democratic tendencies began a most active anti-religious and destructive propaganda, and threatened to bring upon

the country at no distant period a *régime* of absolute anarchy.

In these circumstances, it was evident that in order to save Portugal there must be formed at all costs a political *élite*, with definite religious beliefs, and with the same energy in inculcating sane principles as the anti-clericals showed in their irreligious propagandism. As Dr. Abundio da Silva[1] has well said in speaking of this period of Portuguese history: "The religious struggle demonstrated to Catholics the absolute necessity of making their entrance into politics." The *rotativismo*, losing more and more of its power and prestige, would inevitably become a mere instrument in the hands of audacious demagogues of the pseudo-republican party, unless a new party, untrammelled by errors in the past or by unhappy compromises, could lend a helping hand and save the few men of goodwill who were still to be found in its ranks. Such is the history of Nationalism, the rise of which dates from the year 1901, when efforts were made to expel the religious orders, and whose influence, ever on the increase, has made itself specially felt during the last two years of the reign of Don Carlos and from his assassination until the advent of the Republic.

Unfortunately, the need of a Nationalist party was not understood by all Catholics. As in the France of our days, so in Portugal, union was not achieved. This could hardly cause surprise. In a country where idealists and theorists abound, it was to be expected that a number of intellectuals would take a different view. The politico-religious problems in Portugal are indeed very complex and offer a wide field for speculative theories. Further, it is true that, at the time when Nationalism took definite shape, Catholics were themselves suffering from the

[1] *Nacionaltismo e Acção catholica*, p. 55 (Porto, 1909).

general disorganization of the country and could contribute nothing to the formation of a new party except their goodwill and desire to serve the cause and oppose the all-invading spirit of irreligion.

II. The Revolution and its Consequences

That the Revolution was a calamity for the country is by this time only too clear; and to-day very few even of the intellectuals of the old Republican party can refrain from deploring their fatal mistake in not joining forces with the better elements of the nation in order to prevent the establishment of a *régime* which has been the immediate cause of so much social disorganization and is responsible for so many catastrophes in Portugal.

However, if we consider certain favourable results of the Revolution, we shall find more than one reason for rejoicing. Undoubtedly the most important result has been the release of the clergy from the regalist traditions which hampered it. They have had to choose between apostasy and the faithful accomplishment of their priestly duties; and their conscience, now enlightened, has not been able to discover any way of defending their past inaction or any pretext for further weakness and want of energy. They have boldly taken up the challenge sent forth by their adversaries; they have thrown themselves into the fight with all the heroism which the circumstances demanded, and with all the ardour born of deep affliction and grief.

The first hero of this struggle, and also the first victim of the new rulers, was Mgr. Sebastião de Vasconcellos, Bishop of Beja. In a long congratulatory letter addressed to the other Portuguese Bishops (the letter was printed in *La Croix*, February

16, 1912) he gives a full explanation of his expulsion from Portugal in the very first days of the Republic. A fact which he does not mention, but which we think ought not to be omitted, is that Mgr. Sebastião de Vasconcellos has the honour of being one of the first Bishops since Pombal who has dared to protest openly and fearlessly against the antiquated rights of regalism.

Nominated Bishop of Beja in 1909, during the ministry of João Franco, the new prelate found his diocese in a most lamentable condition. At the very outset he resolved to reform his seminary and to expel certain unworthy priests, who by their doctrines, and above all by their bad example, were a great obstacle in the proper training of young priests. As the Minister of Public Worship was a notorious anti-clerical of the last Ministry but one under the Monarchy, the Bishop of Beja despaired of bringing him round to his views. Accordingly, without waiting for any approval from the Government, with splendid independence he began to make all the changes in his seminary which the situation called for. When summoned by the Minister to reinstate these priests, he simply answered by telegram—*They are not reinstated and never will be.* This answer, first of all, brought about the resignation of the Minister of Public Worship, and was most probably the cause of the fall of the Ministry, which took place a few weeks later. On the other hand, it let loose against the intrepid Bishop all the fury of the anti-clericals.

It is easy to understand that, when the Republic was set up, the anti-clericals, wishing to start at once on their war of violence and intimidation in order to create a National Church independent of Rome, were much afraid of the Bishop of Beja becoming the centre of an active resistance on the part of the

clergy against the separatist policy. So he was exiled from Portugal for ever.

The other Bishops, moreover, were not the sort of men to fall in with the views and wishes of the enemies of religion. If, from motives of prudence—and no one can blame them for being very circumspect at the time of such vehement agitation—they waited two or three months before they met in a general assembly to protest against the anti-religious laws of the Government and against the expulsion of the Jesuits, it is certain that they endeavoured to draw closer than ever to Rome and to take no step without ascertaining the views and wishes of the Holy See.

When, at the beginning of March 1911, under the form of a Lenten pastoral, they prescribed the reading of a collective protest which had been written at the end of December, they showed the courage with which they were determined to act. It is true that at the request of Affonso Costa, who wished to revive all the regalist rights and privileges, they thought it prudent to suspend the reading of the pastoral until the question had been discussed with the Government. Some may be tempted to consider this course of action as showing a want of courage; but even if we allow this interpretation, their action could easily be condoned in the circumstances. Their protest had already produced a most important effect; for the prohibition issued so dramatically by the Government only brought the pastoral into more prominent notice. It only served to excite the curiosity of a large number of people wholly indifferent in matters of religion, who did not fail to draw much profit from the clandestine perusal of the forbidden document. Besides, anyone who knows something of the power of regalism in Portugal will easily excuse the Bishops for suspending the

reading until the general question had been settled according to the principles laid down in the still existing Concordat.

Even so, Mgr. Barroso, the Bishop of Oporto, found a way of reconciling the so-called rights of regalism with the rights of the Church, and of giving a very encouraging example to the rest of Portugal. Foreseeing that Affonso Costa, the Minister of Public Worship, would claim the right of veto with regard to the reading of the above-mentioned pastoral, the Bishop put himself out of reach of telegrams and messages for several hours. He was thus unable to receive the urgent telegrams of the Dictator in time to order his priests to suspend the reading. Summoned to Lisbon to answer for his conduct, he braved the fury of the enraged Carbonarios, and it was only the speed of his motor-car that saved him from bodily harm. During many a long hour he had to submit to the cross-examination of the spiteful Minister and his formidable array of lawyers, and as a reward for his intrepid courage he was dispossessed of his see. Affonso Costa himself could not but admire the bravery displayed by the Bishop. After the long trial, he rose and said: "Antonio Barroso, you are a true Portuguese; and the Republic would be proud of you if you were fighting in its ranks."[1]

[1] Mgr. Barroso was appointed to the See of Oporto in 1899, a few days before the death of Soror Maria do Divino Coração, the St. Gertrude of the nineteenth century. She had offered special prayers and mortifications to obtain a worthy Pastor for Oporto. One day, when they wished to change the bedding of her sick couch, which was falling to pieces, she refused, saying: "No; I have promised the Sacred Heart that I will remain in this state until the arrival of our new Bishop; I have offered to God this mortification in order that He may grant us a worthy Pastor." It was at this time that ulcers broke out in her body, the presence of which she hailed with joy, and which were a continual torture to her until the hour of her death.

Soror Maria do Divino Coração (whose father, Count Dröste zu Vischering, is a well-known member of the Centre party in Germany)

Nevertheless, they continued to work out the plans for dechristianizing Portugal. The Law of Separation was promulgated on April 5, a law which (to borrow the words of the Rabbi Moses Netter, in the *Univers Israélite*) "is a gross piece of work which offends commonsense, decency, and tradition, a law which ought to arouse protests not only from the Catholic Church, but from all fair-minded men who desire to safeguard the inalienable rights of conscience."[1]

The Portuguese Bishops at once protested. Although the Separation Law forbade them under the severest penalties to publish any document without the approbation of Government, they did not shrink from meeting in a general assembly and publishing an eloquent collective protest, of which it is not too much to say that it recalls the courage of the martyrs in the first centuries of the Church.[2] After having criticized the spirit and the principal articles of the infamous law, they continue: "Must we remain silent under the infliction of this despicable law? Do they expect the Bishops of Portugal to imitate the wretched gladiators of old and allow themselves to be strangled crying, 'Ave Cæsar, morituri te salutant'? No one has the right to expect from us an attitude so degrading. We have been accused of timidity, because we wished to be respectful, perhaps too respectful. We are now all the more justified in speaking plainly. . . . To the Son of God, each one of us shall be able to say, with the earnestness of St. Peter, and, let us hope,

is the saintly *voyante* whose revelations were among the most powerful motives that prompted Leo XIII. to consecrate the world to the Sacred Heart. (*Vie de Soror Maria do Divino Coraçâo*, par l'Abbé Charles, *aumonier des religieuses du Bon Pasteur d'Angers*).

[1] Quoted by the *Figaro*, August 2, 1911.

[2] See also Yves de la Brière, "Chronique du mouvement religieux," in the *Études*, August 5, 1911.

with more constancy, '*Lord, we are ready to go with Thee to prison and to death.*'"

This noble defiance, so little expected by the Governmentals, filled them with rage; but it greatly consoled the Catholics, who in general had been painfully affected by what they called the shameful retreat of the Episcopate before Affonso Costa. The extremist newspapers called for nothing less than their expulsion from Portugal, as having now shown themselves avowed Jesuits; and had it not been for the Royalists, who were just then very active on the frontier, or for the fear of causing a fresh panic in a country already so troubled, it is probable that these threats would have been carried out.

Not daring to attack the whole body of Bishops, they fixed upon the Bishop of Guarda, who was well known for his zealous devotion to duty, and who shared with the Bishop of Beja the title of "Jesuit Bishop." More than any other prelate, he had done much to group the Catholic elements into active and useful associations; and it is even said that certain of his colleagues reproached him for organizing the Nationalist movement too openly in his diocese. At the elections held on August 28, 1910, it is more than probable that the reform in private and social life due to the efforts of Mgr. Vicira de Mattos throughout his vast diocese was the all-important factor in the defeat of the anti-clerical candidates of Teixeira de Souza in the districts of Guarda and Castello Branco.

His enemies had also other scores to pay off; they could not forgive him for the apostolic zeal he had shown in the dioceses of Vizeu and Lisbon before he was Bishop of Guarda. At Vizeu he had, during a number of years, been the spiritual director of the seminary, and his tenure of that office had been marked by the growth of a new spirit among

the young clerics committed to his guidance. So thorough was his work that Vizeu became one of the most Catholic dioceses in Portugal. He left this post to become Archbishop of Mitylene and Coadjutor to the Patriarch of Lisbon, and there again his zeal and energy manifested themselves in every direction.

Realizing that it would be no easy task to overcome the complete indifference of the lower classes of the capital, he began by endeavouring to get a hold on the street children, in order to have some means of eventually reaching the parents. Besides, if he could only meet with some success, he thought that his example would not fail to arouse the active enthusiasm of the Lisbon clergy and encourage them to undertake the systematic evangelization of their parishes.

The people of Lisbon now beheld a novel spectacle. In this city, where a priest in *soutane* hardly dared to move about, in the narrow streets and slums of the lower part of the town, where thousands of destitute families are crowded together, where the mere sight of a priest or a well-to-do person provokes a storm of insult—it was here that one might see Mgr. Vicira de Mattos saluted by all with evident marks of respect. As soon as they saw him approach, crowds of children flocked around him. The Archbishop then explained the Catechism to them and made them recite the Our Father and Hail Mary; after which, he proceeded to draw from deep pockets an inexhaustible stock of prizes and rewards, toys, sweets, picture-books, etc., which he distributed to the ever-growing circle of his little friends.

Unfortunately for Lisbon, he was taken away from this apostolic work to rule the diocese of Guarda, a charge not less heavy and requiring all his zeal and energy. His stay in Lisbon, short

though it was, has already produced good results. A good number of hard-working priests have imitated the example he so nobly set ; and his successor, the present Coadjutor, has given a powerful impulse to this mission to the poorer classes by the establishment of clubs and *patronnages*, and by regular instruction in Christian doctrine. The good work was giving splendid promise when it was interrupted by the Revolution ; but there is no doubt that when the political passions of the moment have lost some of their fury, the apostolate started by Mgr. Vicira de Mattos, and carried on to-day by his devoted successors, will be a potent factor in the regeneration of the people.

Immediately after the promulgation of the Law of Separation, Mgr. Vicira de Mattos was actively engaged in warding off the disastrous effects which the law might have in his diocese. He encouraged his priests to remain steadfast, and above all to refuse the schismatic pensions offered by the Government. Two or three priests who accepted them were suspended by him. He also distributed broadcast the encyclical *Jamdudum in Lusitania*, and called upon the better classes to organize regular contributions for the support of the priests who were now deprived of the salaries they had received before the passing of the Separation Law.

It now appeared to Affonso Costa that the audacity of this *Jesuit* Bishop was going beyond all bounds. In his organ, the *Mundo* (August 7, 1911), he arranged for the insertion of the following threat :—

> The reactionary Bishop of Guarda, who in the days of the Monarchy made himself as notorious as the Bishop of Beja by reason of his hateful actions and continued intolerance, is even at this moment following in the same path. The Government of the Republic will show him that he will not do so with impunity, and that forbearance has its limits. The chastisement, if slow in coming, will not be light—quite the contrary.

This paragraph was immediately copied into all the papers of the capital and the provinces, with the further announcement that "the Government was about to take energetic measures against the Bishop of Guarda on account of his hostile attitude towards the Republic." The day after the appearance of this threat the Bishop sent to the head of the Provisional Government an open letter, from which we quote the following passages :—

SIR,—I read in to-day's papers a note, which is evidently inspired, since it is repeated word for word by all the papers, to the effect that the Government is going to take energetic measures against the Bishop of Guarda on account of his hostile attitude towards the Republic. This note does not surprise me. Nay, I would even read it with indifference (the indifference that comes from the accomplishment of one's duty, and from the fact that it is impossible for me to avoid an unpleasant situation), were it not that it contains an implication absolutely contrary to real facts.

If the inspired note had limited itself to the statement that the Government was about to take energetic measures against the Bishop of Guarda, I would calmly await the result, whether the Government condemned me by simple decree, as it condemned my revered colleague, the Bishop of Beja, or whether it took legal proceedings against me, in which I should be offered every facility to defend myself, as is the established custom in every country that enjoys liberty and constitutional guarantees. But the inspired note adds that these energetic measures are to be taken on account of my *hostile attitude towards the Republic*. It is this last phrase that calls forth this letter of mine and compels me to protest against the accusation.

I do not want my silence to be taken as confirmatory evidence. My attitude, it is said, has been hostile to the Republic. What proofs can the Government give of this charge? I have a sufficiently clear idea of my mission to know that *it stands outside the continuous fluctuations of political systems*. These latter have only a relative value, whereas Religion, of which I am a minister, is unchangeable. It would be treason on my part to wish to give my allegiance to political forms that have had their day or to others that are coming into being.

Of course, I completely understand the reason why this charge is preferred against me. I am accused of the crime of having protested against the anti-clerical policy of the Government. What else can I do but protest, when I see the Government

refusing to hearken to any representation, or condemning the Collective Pastoral of the Bishops, in which we merely stated our case to the Government with a moderation which seemed excessive to many persons and was censured by them with much bitterness? In such circumstances a protest is imperative.

It seems that landlords may protest against the law regulating rent; workmen may protest against the new regulations concerning strikes, or against the imprisonment of their comrades; but only Catholics are to be deprived of the sad privilege of protesting against the laws by which they are oppressed! Are they mere outlaws, to whom all political rights are denied? No; we are not enemies to the Republic. . . . The Government then will take energetic measures against the Bishop of Guarda. It has force on its side, and so it can do what it wishes . . . but let this be clearly realized: *The Bishop of Guarda will be prosecuted for having accomplished his duties as a Bishop, for having exhorted Catholics to obey the sacred laws of conscience, and not for being hostile to the Republic.*

This fearless answer was hailed with a unanimous chorus of approval in the Portuguese Press, with the exception, of course, of the papers controlled by Affonso Costa. It was impossible not to applaud the energy and the logic of the valiant Bishop who had dared to stand up against the autocratic Dictator. The latter beat a retreat. Besides, the Royalists on the frontier were threatening serious trouble; and the fear of causing still greater annoyance to the people in districts that were still stoutly Catholic prevented the Provisional Government from taking the energetic measures that had been promised.

III. The Republic since the Resignation of Costa

When all danger from Royalist incursions had passed away, sectarian hatred broke out afresh against the brave Bishop. Affonso Costa had been compelled to resign as a consequence of the Presidential election in which he and his partisans had

been defeated; and Dr. Leotte, his successor at the Ministry of Justice and Public Worship, being unable to carry on the policy of religious persecution according to the wishes of the Carbonari, handed over his portfolio to Dr. Macieira, one of the most active lieutenants of Affonso Costa. The Bishop of Guarda was immediately expelled from the district of Guarda, then from Tortozendo and Fundão, and finally from the whole of his diocese.

The Government thought that they had at last cleared the ground and could rule the rest of the Episcopate just as they liked. Counting upon the traditions of servility in the clergy which had been growing ever since the days of Pombal, they thought it would be easy to wear out the patience of the Bishops now that the three most dangerous and energetic of their number had been driven from their sees. Fortunately, they were mistaken; and their sanguine expectations showed how little they understood the reforms effected in the Episcopate and clergy during the sojourn of Mgr. Mazella in Lisbon. A note, evidently inspired by the Minister of Public Worship, appeared in certain Republican newspapers, announcing that, on account of the poverty of the Portuguese clergy, Pius X. had become less rigorous, and would allow them to accept the pensions offered by the Government.

Mgr. Bello, the Patriarch of Lisbon, hastened to contradict the statement in the *Nação*, and stated that the Pope, far from having made any such concession, insisted on the repudiation of such pensions, since their acceptance could only be interpreted as an approbation of the Law of Separation.

The Minister now went to work in another way. His newspapers began to remind their readers that the year 1911 was coming to a close, and that it was time to think about forming *associations cultuelles*

in order to preserve the right of using the churches for public worship; if they were not formed, the Government, to its great regret, would find itself obliged to close the churches. Again Mgr. Bello lost no time in sending a circular letter to all the priests and faithful of his Patriarchate, forbidding them under pain of excommunication to form any such associations.

The audacity of the Patriarch had now exceeded the limits allowed by the enemies of religion. M. Macieira, questioned in Parliament on December 21 with reference to this case of rank *rebellion*, answered in a style that betrayed his furious indignation. One of the deputies, Garcia de Costa, added that the Republican laws were made *to be obeyed*; that it was high time to make an example of the rebels, for no one had as yet obeyed the laws of the Republic. This last statement was perfectly correct; the numerous laws passed by the Republic, concerning strikes, leases, rental, wages, etc., were practically dead letters. The reason why so many laws of this nature remained inoperative is not far to seek: the Ministers were too afraid of dynamite or other striking protests on the part of those whose interests would suffer by these ministerial decrees.

The era of decrees, which, after the publication of hundreds of them by Affonso Costa, may be said to have closed before the month of July, opened again, to the great satisfaction of the Anti-clerical Association of the Civil Register. Besides, some diversion was urgently needed by the Ministry, who were now confronted with various compromising problems, economic and colonial, which were troubling the country, and with threats of revolt on the part of the labouring classes, who had been deceived by the lavish promises of their new rulers.

A new decree, dated December 29, was issued,

expelling the recalcitrant Patriarch from his diocese. The same decree also expelled the Bishop of Guarda from the district of Castello Branco, and the Administrator of the See of Oporto from his diocese.

This decree of expulsion produced an effect which the anti-clericals were far from expecting. In Lisbon, it astonished them to find that an enormous crowd had suddenly collected together, consisting of several thousands of Catholics belonging to every class of society, from admirals and generals to humble workers in factories, and that the one object of this spontaneous and courageous gathering was to manifest their sympathy in front of the Episcopal Palace and to say good-bye to the noble victim. This extraordinary manifestation in the very stronghold of Portuguese anti-clericalism made a deep impression not only in the rest of Portugal, but in every country of Europe. It was also a very timely act, which powerfully helped to restore the courage and confidence of timorous and despondent Catholics in the provinces and to spur them on to make similar manifestations of their faith.

The incidents just narrated were not limited to the case of Mgr. Bello; and as in *all* the other dioceses Bishops issued identical circular letters, M. Macieira found ample opportunity of indulging in his mania for decrees.

First of all came a general decree, dated January 6, 1912, in which he called the attention of all to the fact that the Portuguese Republic was animated by a boundless spirit of toleration towards Catholics. The time allowed by law for the formation of *cultuelles* was extended for a year more. The significance of this magnanimous concession was obvious to all. The discomfiture of the Ministers was complete; they saw that as yet there was nowhere any intention of forming *cultuelles*.

On the same day the indefatigable Minister issued another decree, in which the Bishop of Algarve received the same treatment as the Patriarch, and for the same crime. Again the same expressions of sympathy were received by the Bishop, who was especially gratified by a splendid letter sent to him on the day of his departure from Faro by the clergy of the whole district. Unfortunately, we have no space for the magnificent letter of protest sent by him to the Government, in which he lays bare the intellectual and juridical incapacity of the persecuting Minister.

The next on the list was Canon Mattoso, Administrator of the Diocese of Coimbra. He had been chosen hardly a month before by the retiring Bishop [1] for this important office, and had not failed in his duty of condemning the *cultuelles*. When he was expelled from Coimbra on January 11, the Catholic students of the city organized a meeting to protest against the tyranny of the Government and to show their sympathy with Canon Mattoso. We may here mention incidentally that the revival of greater activity among Catholics was further strengthened by these continued protests.

The Bishop of Vizeu was the next to suffer. This time the protests of Catholics thoroughly alarmed the Government. The time fixed for the departure

[1] Mgr. Bastos Pina, the venerable octogenarian Bishop, had sent in his resignation to the Pope on December 1, 1911, in consequence of a note sent by him to the Minister of Public Worship to give notice that he had just issued a circular letter to his clergy, and to ask for the *beneplacito* required by the Law of Separation. The Minister did not fail to take this act as a formal recognition of the iniquitous law. He at once wrote to congratulate the Bishop on his resolution to recognize the *supremacy of the civil power* over the Church. The venerable Bishop was deeply grieved at this interpretation, which was never intended by him, and at the scandal it would cause among the faithful, offered his resignation to the Holy Father, and published a touching letter to ask pardon for his undue haste. He proclaimed his attachment and loving fidelity to the Church, to the defence of which he had consecrated the thirty years of his long episcopate.

of the Bishop was three o'clock in the afternoon of January 19. Early in the morning numerous groups of country-folk from the outlying districts began to pour into the town. At ten in the morning their numbers were estimated at five thousand. Fearing that the number would go on increasing and that the manifestation would open the eyes of the crowd to their own strength, the Government sent word to the Bishop that he was to leave the Bishop's palace immediately and not wait until the time which had been agreed upon the day before. This, however, did not prevent a big demonstration, in which the whole town of Vizeu took part, as well as the five thousand peasants mentioned above. The correspondent of the *Mundo* (January 22), reporting on the events of the day, made the following significant statements: "Since the publication of the order forbidding priests to wear the *soutane*, we no longer know who are Jesuits and who are Liberals. Jesuits are invading the whole country. They or their adepts are everywhere: in the chair of the University Professor, in the Lycées, in elementary schools, in taverns, in drawing-rooms, in Parliament, in fact everywhere. As for Vizeu, it is, as we have seen to-day, a hotbed of reaction."

Later came the turn of the Bishop of Portalegre. The circular letter issued by him was an enlarged edition of those sent out by the other Bishops. Not only did he condemn the *cultuelles*, but he pointed out the wisest measures to be taken in order to ensure the continuation of the committees of churchwardens which already existed, and to organize contributions for the maintenance of public worship. Macieira had by this time made himself ridiculous by his constant changes of front, bullying in one case and cringing in another, now condemning a

harmless and unresisting prelate, now grovelling before the behests of strikers or Carbonarios. No doubt he was becoming aware of the exhibition he was making of himself. Still, the new rebel could not be allowed to go unpunished. But it was only after waiting several weeks, during which he reflected on the remarkable expressions of sympathy that accompanied each new expulsion and on the revival of the spirit and activity among Catholics due to these demonstrations, that he took action against the Bishop of Portalegre. By the same decree, dated February 15, the Archbishop of Braga and the Bishop of Lamego were also expelled from their sees.

There still remained two "rebels" among the Bishops—the Archbishop of Evora and the Bishop of Bragança. Macieira no doubt wished it to be understood that their protests had been very mild, and that their conduct might be considered as a complete approbation of the Law of Separation. But the two Bishops soon dissipated any such impression. They issued new and more strongly worded protests, and complained of the discrimination shown in the condemnation of some Bishops, while others guilty of the same so-called crimes were allowed to come and go unmolested. The inequality between their lot and that of the exiled Bishops soon disappeared. Towards the end of March they also were exiled.

Once again the fury of the official anti-clericals was somewhat sobered. They began at last to be afraid of the revival of faith which was spreading contagiously from town to town, even to those that had been the most indifferent in religious matters. It is of course impossible to deny that the Royalist movement and the general discontent aroused by Republican ineptitude were powerful

factors in this religious revival, in which all sections of the public found a very convenient way of causing annoyance to the rulers of the day. What is certain is that the Government took fright, and introduced important changes in the tactics of their religious war.

In place of official tyranny and ministerial mania for decrees, the task of tyrannizing Catholics was entrusted to hooligans and the all-powerful Carbonarios. When the excesses of these ruffians seemed to go too far, and when even the Republican Press protested too energetically, or a foreign newspaper threatened to let the cat out of the bag, the Minister hurriedly nominated a committee of inquiry. Naturally these inquiries never came to anything; and the Carbonarios continued as before their war of destruction and extermination. As specimens of their handiwork, we may quote the following:—"Several assaults on the Catholic Young Men's Clubs of Lisbon, Oporto, Braga, and Guarda; the offices of Catholic newspapers destroyed several times, the police, of course, always arriving on the scene too late; a brutal assault on Pinheiro Domingues, President of the Catholic Young Men's Association of Lisbon. He was left for dead, and one of his ears had been torn off to be exhibited at the lodges of the Carbonarios as a trophy. Under the pretext that several members of the clergy were conspiring against the new *régime*, the prisons were filled with a large number of priests who were looked upon as the most influential in the movement of resistance to the iniquitous laws. Some of them, as, for example, Canon Correia, died a terrible death, with all the symptoms of poisoning; others, like the Abbé de Figueiredo, were condemned to a long term of solitary confinement, after having undergone indescribable torments in underground cells that recall

the miserable dungeons of bygone days.[1] In the Diocese of Guarda the parish priest, Patrocinio Dias, was unceremoniously interrupted in his sermon and placed under arrest by the mayor of the place, because he had dared to say that 'Providence governs us'; whereas, according to the mayor, 'it is Affonso Costa alone who governs us.' Elsewhere, the chapel where the remains of Vasco da Gama lie buried was converted into a wine-cellar. The Governor of Braga gave strict orders to his officers to watch carefully the rather long overcoats worn by certain ecclesiastics. The wearing of *soutanes* had been forbidden, and these overcoats were very like *soutanes*. Near Figueira, a group of atheists, wishing to dispel the somewhat inconvenient and harassing thoughts of death, decreed that all deaths should be celebrated by public rejoicings, feasts, dances, and banquets. At Villar, near Ermezinde, a priest was prevented by a policeman from carrying Viaticum to the dying; worse still, at Valle de Santarem, the Carbonarios of the district sacrilegiously replaced the priest, and with all the external accompaniments of Viaticum proceeded to the house of a dying woman. Space does not allow us to enumerate all the churches closed or deprived of their pastors, or to recount all the sacrileges and

[1] The scandalous treatment meted out to political prisoners has given rise to many protests and controversies in England, which have practically destroyed any prestige that the Masonic Republic possessed in the Radical and Secularist Press. Powerful associations, like the Committee of the Duchess of Bedford and the Howard Association, and well-known writers like McCullagh, Gibbs, Percival Phillips, C. P. Bland, Bragança Cunha, and E. Tenison, have enlightened the English Press, both Conservative and Radical, with regard to all the shameful deeds that have formed so conspicuous a feature in the anti-clerical *régime* of Lisbon. We may especially mention E. M. Tenison, the valiant secretary of the Duchess of Bedford's Committee for the Relief of Political Prisoners in Portugal; it is to his energetic and persevering efforts that we must in great measure ascribe the partial amnesty and a certain alleviation in the hardships of the unfortunate prisoners.

profanations committed in Portugal since the Revolution ; even the horrors of the Terror of 1793 cannot surpass the crimes that have been committed in our days. The few facts we have given are sufficient to give an idea of the diabolical *régime* established in Portugal since October 5, 1910, and will show how untrue are the assertions of Affonso Costa, who, speaking at Oporto in March of last year, dared to affirm that *in no other country in the world was there to be found greater political and social liberty than in Portugal*" (*Nação*, March 25, 1913).

IV. The Future

The future of Portugal seems to me very black. If no salutary movement arises to check the descent towards the abyss, it will be difficult for the Masonic Republic of Lisbon to escape the loss of its oversea possessions,[1] or even the intervention of foreign powers in Portugal itself. At home, syndicalist troubles have been more and more frequent, and unless some remedy is found they will end in the horrors of some sanguinary Commune. If the turn of fortune leads the way to a monarchical restoration, it must not be imagined that order, prosperity, and the religious spirit will rise again as by enchantment. The evil is too deeply rooted, and its causes

[1] The reader will remember the Press campaign conducted by the great newspapers of London and Berlin a few weeks before the Balkan War, and taken up again a year after (*Daily Telegraph*, Nov. 10, 1913). Attention is also called to the last clause of the recent Franco-Spanish agreement, in which France undertakes to uphold the rights of Spain in case of foreign intervention in Portugal. A few months ago, the *Daily News* declared that, had it not been for the Balkan War, the Portuguese question would have been settled long ago. Lastly, the French newspapers have on various occasions stated that, by a clause in the Franco-German agreement on the subject of Morocco, France leaves a free field to Germany to carve out for herself an empire in Central Africa at the expense of smaller nations.

too complex. The future Portugal must reckon with the Liberal leaven which has by no means disappeared from all the clergy ; with economic crises of every kind ; with the Portuguese mania for indulging in politics and speculative considerations in season and out of season, instead of dealing with positive questions more apt to ensure the progress of the country ; and, lastly, with the southern tendency to indolence, in a country where the climate is so favourable, and induces such a strong tendency to rest and repose, that it is difficult not to succumb to the temptation. Besides, the climate is very dry, and requires energetic and assiduous work on the part of the inhabitants if they are to get a return from their lands, and compete with other nations in the sphere of economics. Unless we can get this spirit of work and this cultivation of effort intensely developed, Portugal must resign itself to the prospect of following ever in the wake of other more laborious nations ; and it will foster in its own bosom perpetual causes of discontent, which will inevitably break out in a series of religious or dynastic revolutions. As M. Poinsard has well said in his *Portugal inconnu*, "it is work that rules the world and not politics." This truth is especially applicable to the case under consideration.

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THE CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA

By the Hon. A. Wilmot, K.S.G., K.H.S.

I. Early History

South Africa may be said to comprise all the country between the Zambesi River and the Cape of Good Hope. If Northern Rhodesia be added, the sub-continent will then include a territory almost as large as Europe. This magnificent and extensive country contains a white population of only a million and a quarter, whereas under proper exploitation it could be made a prosperous home for hundreds of millions of human beings. As there is "the call of the East," so there is the "call" of such magnificent expanses of territory as are to be found not only in Australia and Canada but also in Southern Africa. It is a call to the densely congested nations of the old world, offering fresh fields and new opportunities to their struggling crowds. Blessed with a climate that is perhaps the best in the whole world, a rich soil, enormous mineral wealth, including the richest gold and diamond mines ever discovered, South Africa has certainly immense possibilities before it.

The future of the Catholic Church in such a

country must of course be largely a matter for speculation ; but if we are to judge by the progress made during the last century, the prospects are most encouraging. Without taking account of the Portuguese establishments at Mozambique, and those of German South-West Africa, there are in the sub-continent the following ecclesiastical jurisdictions, each having its missionary staff and its places of worship:—

		Priests.	Brothers.	Nuns.	Churches and Chapels.
Vicariates Apostolic.	1. Cape Province (Western) . .	31	20	135	46
	2. Cape Province (Eastern) . .	50	43	561	47
	3. Natal (Oblate Missions) . .	41	20	408	40
	4. Natal (Trappists) .	64	217	326	28
	5. Kimberley . .	17	12	100	26
	6. Transvaal . .	21	20	147	22
	7. Orange River . .	18	4	25	19
	8. Basutoland . .	24	15	72*	33
Prefectures Apostolic.	9. Zambesi Mission .	36	28	101	18
	10. Northern Transvaal	6	3	...	8
	Total	308	382	1875	287

* This includes a large number of native nuns.

Seven bishops, one abbot, and two prefects apostolic preside over these several units of jurisdiction.

All the above vicariates except part of Orange River are now included in "the Union of South Africa," and therefore it is possible that a new Church organization of a consolidating character may

soon be established. The Jesuit, Trappist, and Oblate Missions among the natives are remarkably successful—so much so, that coloured or native Catholics in South Africa bear a large proportion to the Catholic people of European extraction.

II. Cape Province—Western Vicariate

The Dutch who settled at Capetown in 1652 proved extremely anti-Catholic, and were soon reinforced by an immigration of Huguenot refugees. We can only chronicle the arrival, at intervals, of a few Catholic visitors compelled to touch at these shores on account of shipwreck, dire distress at sea, or for purposes of getting water and refreshments.

In 1660 a French Bishop wrecked in Table Bay was forbidden to say Mass on shore. In 1685 six Jesuits landed for the purpose of taking astronomical observations. A change took place towards the end of the eighteenth century, when Governor Janssens allowed Catholic priests to act as chaplains to soldiers and others in Capetown. This policy was, however, promptly put an end to by Sir David Baird after his conquest of the Colony in 1806. On January 1, 1820, Bishop Slater of Mauritius visited Capetown, as the Cape Colony was then an appendix to his vicariate. Three priests were stationed by him in South Africa, one of whom, Father Scully, was settled in Capetown, where there were seventy-five Catholics, only three of whom were Irish. These people believed in government by lay churchwardens, and unfortunately Bishop Slater accepted this arrangement. Frequent altercations and bickerings resulted, and Father Scully resigned.

The Archbishop of Mechlin was asked to send out Dutch priests.

For two years there was no priest, and then Father Wagenar arrived. He was succeeded by Father Rushton in 1827. Church property was vested in two of the churchwardens.

After working very hard and suffering for some time from bad health, Father Rushton was obliged to retire. Subsequently Monsignor Brady, an Australian prelate, when he called at the Cape was greatly touched by the anxious way in which Catholics resident there asked for a priest. An appeal was made to Pope Gregory XVI., and in 1837 Patrick Raymond Griffiths of the Friars Preachers was appointed Vicar-apostolic of South Africa.

The new Bishop landed in 1838, accompanied by Fathers Burke and Corcoran, his brother Joseph, who was an ecclesiastical student, and his sister. Dr. Griffiths at once told the churchwardens that he would allow them no share in church administration. The old chapel building had become ruinous, and a room in the military barracks was made use of instead. In apostolic poverty Miss Griffiths was both housekeeper and housemaid, while Joseph had to divide his time between ecclesiastical studies and the work of a footman. At this time there was a large number of Catholic soldiers in Capetown.

Bishop Griffiths went round to Port Elizabeth, a village in which there were thirty Catholics, and then on horseback visited Grahamstown, Cradock, Graaff Reinet, and Fort Beaufort, finding a few Catholics here and there, most of whom were lukewarm and ignorant. Priests were stationed at Grahamstown and (later on) one at Port Elizabeth.

On the Bishop's return to Capetown a good school was established under Dr. Devereux, and an excellent property suitable for a convent and for the presbytery purchased at a cost of £2600. In 1840 all dissensions were entirely removed and a steady advance was observable.

In 1851 the Bishop completed the fine Church of St. Mary, which is still the pro-Cathedral of Capetown. At his death in 1862 missions had been established at Rondebosch, Simonstown, George, and Oudtshoorn, while several schools were in operation and State aid was accorded to the clergy, though it was not until 1867 that all the civil disabilities under which Catholics suffered were removed by an Act of the Legislature. Dr. Grimley was appointed co-adjutor to the first Vicar-apostolic in 1861, and succeeded him in 1862. He brought out the Dominican Sisters as well as the Marist Brothers, and died in 1871 just after his return from the Vatican Council. One of Dr. Grimley's letters to the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, dated the 30th December 1869, is significant. He writes that on his arrival in the Colony he found no churches out of Capetown, and only eight priests for the Western Vicariate. Actuated by ignorance and prejudice, the mass of the population was profoundly hostile. In illustration of this, Dr. Grimley says that one of his priests when travelling was taken for a Predikant or Protestant preacher and given a bedroom. So soon, however, as the Boer's wife found he was a Roman Catholic priest her rage became excessive, and he was turned out of the house and with difficulty found shelter in a stable, when he remarked that he was content to sleep in the manger as his dear Master did before him.

The Right Rev. John Leonard was taken from

his curacy at Blanchardstown, Dublin, to be the next Vicar-apostolic in Capetown, and during his episcopate of thirty-five years did very much to promote the interests of Catholicism by his own saintly life and the admirably prudent manner in which he administered the affairs of his Vicariate.

At his death in 1908 there were 33 priests in the Western Vicariate; 153 religious, including Marist Brothers, Salesians, Dominican nuns, Sisters of Nazareth, and Sisters of the Holy Cross; 19 churches and 10 convents; an orphanage, an industrial school, and 20 elementary schools. The magnificent buildings both of the Salesians and of the Sisters of Nazareth in Capetown are really monuments to the memory of Bishop Leonard, as it was largely owing to his unwearied and energetic efforts that these institutions were established and attained success. In 1890 *The Catholic Magazine for South Africa* was first published, under the editorship of Dr. Kolbe, a convert of very great learning and ability.

Dr. John Rooney, who had been coadjutor for twenty-two years, succeeded Bishop Leonard in 1908, and, under his benign rule, considerable progress has already been made—witness the additional educational advantages in Capetown, the erection of seven churches, and the establishment of a nursing sisterhood at Sea Point.

III. Cape Province—Eastern Vicariate

The Eastern Vicariate of the Cape Province was established in 1847. On the 27th December of that year Dr. Devereux was consecrated in Capetown Bishop of Paneas and Vicar-apostolic by Dr. Griffiths, under whom he had worked for nine years. Previously in Rome he had been Bursar of the

Irish College and a friend of Cardinal Cappellari, afterwards Pope Gregory XVI. Largely through a generous Belgian family named Dhanis, the new administrator received considerable funds to start with. But his life was spent amidst the turmoil of Kaffir war and in a struggle not only with insufficient pecuniary means but also with an inadequate supply of priests. He was released from his labours by death on 11th February 1854. The harvest, throughout immense sparsely-peopled regions and among hundreds of thousands of aboriginal natives, was enormous, but the labourers were extremely few. Important instructions of Pius IX. were contained in those words: "Attend first to the wants of the children of the household of the Faith. When the wants of this portion of the flock are provided for, turn your attention to the native population."

The successor to the pious and hard-working Dr. Devereux was Dr. Moran, who had been curate of Irishtown in Dublin, and arrived in Grahamstown at the close of the year 1856. No man could have been more devoted and energetic; his administration was so able that the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, desiring him to be faithful over larger things, appointed him the first Bishop of Dunedin, New Zealand, in 1870. Next year the Rev. J. D. Ricards was consecrated bishop in Grahamstown, under the title of Retimo *in partibus*, by Dr. Allard, then Vicar-apostolic of Natal. Dr. Ricards had already spent twenty-two years in South Africa, edited *The Colonist* newspaper, and as a writer, a lecturer, and a worthy pastor had made his mark. His life was a typical one. The usual hardships of travel in a savage country had to be endured: sometimes he was forced to sleep on

the veldt, sometimes on the floor of a house with his saddle for a pillow; once he incurred severe rheumatic fever by being turned out at night because he was a "Roomsch Predikant." Chevalier Lynch, who frequently accompanied him, always told the Dutch farmers that Father Ricards was a doctor, and they consequently concluded that he was a medical man. The sick of the establishment therefore came forward, and prescriptions of castor oil and wormwood tea were generally found efficacious. On one night in the veldt the roars of lions disturbed the missionaries; on another occasion their cart overturned, and with bruised limbs and a black eye Dr. Ricards had to say Mass at the next station.

Bishop Ricards was a man of very great attainments. As it was said of Oliver Goldsmith that he touched many things and touched nothing that he did not adorn, so this great Catholic missionary was eminent not only as an instructor and writer but also as a preacher and scientist, and his labours as a teacher and lecturer were well known throughout South Africa. No man ever did so much for education in the sub-continent. Not only were the Marists and Dominican Nuns introduced, but he obtained the services of the Jesuits and inaugurated their college of St. Aidan in Grahamstown—thus contributing greatly, if indirectly, to the promotion of the Rhodesian missions. To his ecclesiastical statesmanship also is due the introduction of the Trappists to South Africa. Commencing at Dunbrody in the Eastern Vicariate, they eventually proceeded to Natal and Transkeian Territories, converting thousands of aboriginal natives, and now forming one of the most successful Catholic missions to the heathen.

Dr. Ricards was recruited from Wexford by Bishop Devereux, and several excellent priests[1] eventually joined the mission from that place. In 1876 he was voted *Dignissimus* by the clergy for the vacant bishopric of Ferns, his native diocese, but declined the honour and was commended by Cardinal Cullen for doing so. It is impossible to go more fully into the biography of Dr. Ricards. His energies were unfortunately checked for years before his death by severe illness. On the feast of All Saints in 1891 the consecration took place of the Right Reverend Dr. Strobino (titular Bishop of Pompeiopolis) to act as coadjutor to Dr. Ricards. Two years afterwards, on the 30th November 1893, Dr. Ricards breathed his last in Grahamstown, and the leading newspaper in that city only echoed the general verdict when it declared, "Verily was he a man about whom it may, humanly speaking, be said he was without spot or blemish."

Two most distinguished ecclesiastics of the Eastern Vicariate did much to build up Catholicism in South Africa. These were the Right Rev. Mgr. Murphy, who built the Church of St. Patrick in Grahamstown and of St. Augustine in Port Elizabeth, and whose name is still a household word in the Eastern districts; and the Right Rev. Mgr. Fagan, who still survives (1914), and to whose successful labours the beautiful Church of the Sacred Heart in King William's Town, as well as the Dominican Sisters' Convent, the establishments of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, and other Church buildings in the same town, emphatically bear witness. The new Vicar-apostolic, Bishop Strobino, was a native of the north of Italy, and when he came to South

[1] Among them were Dr. Allan, Fathers Fanning, Fitzhenry, Hanlon, Neville, and O'Brien.

Africa did not know a word of English, but in a wonderfully short time became an excellent preacher in that language. He was a man of energy and ability, but unfortunately became a hopeless invalid and died a very holy death three years after the decease of Bishop Ricards.

He was succeeded in 1896 by his coadjutor, the Right Rev. Hugh MacSherry, formerly Administrator of Dundalk in Ireland, who with great energy has done, and is doing, very much to advance the interests of Catholicism in South Africa. During the eighteen years of his laborious and fruitful administration immense progress has been made in all directions throughout his Vicariate. The number of the clergy has been doubled and that of the convents more than doubled, whilst the number of Sisters has been quadrupled. New churches have been provided at Uitenhage, Naauwpoort, Barkly-East, Indwe, Lilyfontein, West Bank (East London), Woodlands, and Cambridge. Travelling priests have been appointed to visit the Catholics in outlying districts. Commodious residences for the clergy have been acquired in a great number of missions. The Trappist Missionary Fathers have been reintroduced into the Vicariate, and the Brothers of the Christian Schools brought to King William's Town. Schools for natives have been opened in several localities, and a convent established in Schelhdorf in Bavaria for the reception and training of candidates for the Dominican Sisterhood at King William's Town. The Sisters of the Precious Blood have been established at Keilands ; the Nursing Sisters of the Little Company of Mary at Walmer, Port Elizabeth, and the Sisters of the Holy Cross at Cambridge and Aliwal North. In the last-named place has been erected (1907) what

is undoubtedly one of the most magnificent conventual buildings in South Africa.

IV. Natal Vicariate

The Natal Vicariate was established in 1850 by Pope Pius IX., and now includes the Province of Natal as well as Zululand, Swaziland,[1] and the Transkeian territory. The first priest who ministered to the wants of the Catholics of Natal was that much loved and devoted missionary, Father Murphy, who subsequently returned to the Eastern Vicariate of the Cape Colony. There were then about 500 Catholics in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, while the native population was totally uncivilized. The first Vicar-apostolic, the Right Rev. Dr. Allard, O.M.I., landed at Port Natal with five missionaries on St. Patrick's Day, 1852, and not only started St. Michael's Mission to the Zulus, but even commenced one in Basutoland. The excellent Father Sabon was long well known as the beloved and respected priest of Durban. Dr. Allard was greatly discouraged by the appalling difficulties in his way, and after years spent amidst hardships and privations, finding his strength fail, he retired to Rome in 1872, where he died many years afterwards. He was succeeded in 1874 by the Right Rev. Dr. Charles Jolivet, O.M.I., who worked wonders during his long term of office, which terminated with his death on 15th September 1903. So far as natives are concerned the Trappists gave him immense help (see Mariannhill Mission), and Basutoland flourished under a Prefect-apostolic. Dr. Jolivet was justly and universally

[1] The Swaziland Mission has recently been entrusted to the Servite Fathers.

beloved. He added geniality and benevolence of disposition to excellent powers of administration. Many convents, religious houses, and schools were established, and with constant intrepidity the Bishop with his priests garrisoned every possible centre, until there was really no place of any consequence without a chapel and a school.

The present Bishop, Dr. Delalle, O.M.I., was appointed in 1904, and zealously carries on the work. The white population of the Vicariate is estimated at only 100,000, but natives, Indians, and Malays number 1,000,000. The Catholic population comprises 25,700, of whom there are 7400 whites, and the rest are natives and "coloured." The number of missions is 49. The Cathedral in Durban is a very spacious and handsome building. The orders of women labouring in Natal comprise Sisters of the Precious Blood of the Holy Cross, of Nazareth, of the Holy Family, besides Dominicans, Augustinians, and Franciscans. At Durban, Escourt, Ladysmith, and Pietermaritzburg there are hospitals, as well as two sanatoria of the Augustinian Sisters, and there is a special chapel for Indians at Durban.

V. Mariannhill Congregation

The congregation of the missionaries of Mariannhill (Trappists) is in Natal, near Pinetown, fifteen miles from Durban. In 1873, at the invitation of Bishop Ricards (Cape Eastern Vicariate), the Rev. Francis Pfanner, prior of a Reformed Cistercian monastery in Bosnia, established, with 31 brothers, a monastery at Dunbrody, on the Sundays River, near Port Elizabeth (Cape Eastern Vicariate). This he had to abandon in 1882, when he transferred his com-

munity to Mariannhill, Natal, which in 1885 was erected into an abbey, and Father Pfanner elected abbot.

Missionary Sisters of the Precious Blood took charge of the native children. By degrees mission stations were scattered over Natal, as well as throughout Transkeian territories. In 1894 Dom Amandus Schoelzig became abbot, and founded 9 new stations, 2 of which were in German East Africa. He was succeeded in 1900 by Abbot Wolbert, who founded a station in Rhodesia and 2 more in Natal. In 1904 the Right Rev. Edmond M. Olrecht, Abbot of Gethsemani, U.S.A., was appointed, with the approbation of the Holy See, to be Administrator of Mariannhill. The Congregation of Regulars in Rome in 1909 separated Mariannhill from the Order of Reformed Cistercians, and formed of it the Congregation of the "Mariannhill Missionaries." Their church became "Collegiate," under the government of a Provost. At present they number 228.

The following are the statistics of this Trappist Mission :—

Mission stations	29
Clerics (scholastics)	16
Missionaries	62
Lay brothers	240
Mission sisters	450
Teachers (European)	62
Teachers (natives)	90
Schools	91
Hospitals	9
Workshops	71
Total number of baptisms	30,864
Catechists	90

Catechumens	6,621
Churches	53
Chapels	43
Out stations	78
Catechetical stations . . .	235
Confessions last year (1913) .	113,924
Communions last year (1913) .	249,998

It is now said by those who understand Christian Kaffirs that the only real work done among the Zulus and Kaffirs has been done by the Trappists. This will be understood when we learn that the catechumens, except in danger of death, are not easily admitted to baptism. They have to attend instruction for two, three, or even four years before they are selected as candidates for the sacrament.

God Almighty most abundantly blesses this great mission; its work among the natives of the Bantu race is admirably successful. Religion and work are so taught as to make the converts good members of society. At Mariannhill it is possible to teach forty different trades and occupations, and in all cases the modes of teaching are excellent. Great ecclesiastical buildings exist there, and the campanile of the church is a beautiful work of art. Work is indefatigably carried on with great developments at all the stations, which are very numerous. The total number (1912) on baptismal registers was no less than 27,516. This great mission to the Zulus and other aborigines presents a wonderful object-lesson. "By their fruits ye shall know them." Dr. Kolbe, writing in *The Catholic Magazine for South Africa*, says: "I repeat my conviction, that the Trappist work in South Africa is one of the most remarkable phenomena in

the whole mission world, and I feel sure that in the long-run whites will benefit as much as blacks by the presence of these heroes of industry in our midst."

At a meeting of the Bishops of South Africa called together by the Pope in 1896, their lordships declared that the Church had made considerable progress. "The native races are being brought into the fold in consoling numbers. So successful, indeed, is the work being done among them at present, that we almost realize the Psalmist's words, 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands to God.'" Nothing in the history of the Church in South Africa is more striking than the immense success of the Catholic missions to the aboriginal natives. One of the causes of this success is the application to them of the Sacrament of Penance. As the Superior of one of these missions declared, and as all acknowledge, it is impossible to carry on any native mission with the slightest chance of success, unless this sacrament can be applied. Otherwise the natives become "whited sepulchres"—psalm-singing and gross immorality going together. The coloured races are sensual children needing the strictest vigilance, the constant care of the missionaries, and, above all, the powerful efficacy of the sacraments.

VI. Kimberley Vicariate

The Vicariate of Kimberley, in the Orange Free State, owes its origin to the discovery of diamonds in large quantities at the great mines now worked by the De Beers Consolidated Company. In 1886 Griqualand West, or the Diamond Fields, Bechuanaland, the Orange Free State, and Basuto-

land were constituted into a Vicariate, but subsequently the great success of Catholic missions among the Basutos induced the Propaganda to erect a separate Prefecture Apostolic, which eventually became a Vicariate with a Bishop. Before the rise of Kimberley there was a Catholic church and a priest at Bloemfontein (Free State). Suddenly in what had seemed almost a desert a city sprang into existence, and by leaps and bounds rose to importance.

Father Hilary Lenoir, O.M.I., built the first churches in Kimberley, Mafeking, and Harrismith. The Right Rev. Anthony Gaughran, O.M.I., was the first Bishop. He suffered much from illness at Kimberley during the siege, and died in 1901. In the following year he was succeeded by his brother, the Right Rev. Matthew Gaughran, O.M.I. The Vicariate possesses 16 churches and chapels, an excellent college under the management of the Christian Brothers, as well as several convent schools for girls, directed by the Sisters of the Holy Family and the Sisters of the Holy Cross. Taungs in Bechuanaland is the only native mission in this Vicariate, and in it are 400 Catholics. Sisters of Nazareth and of Mercy provide for the poor. The population is unsettled, and the difficulties of the Oblate missionaries are great.

VII. Transvaal Vicariate

It can be truly said that Catholicism and civilization entered the interior of Southern Africa through gates of diamonds and gold. The rich diggings of Kimberley and the still richer gold mines of Johannesburg brought railways, new cities, and an immense increase of population. The Transvaal

previous to 1885 formed a portion of the Natal Vicariate, and until recently was an independent Prefecture. The first chapel was at Pilgrims' Rest, where there were gold diggings, and as far back as 1864 Mass was celebrated in a room at Potchefstroom (once the capital of the South African Republic). The Transvaal is now a Vicariate-apostolic, of which the Right Rev. Dr. Miller, O.M.I., titular Bishop of Eumenia, was the first Administrator. He has been succeeded by the Right Rev. F. Cox, O.M.I. More recently a community of the Redemptorist Fathers (Rev. F. F. Creagh, C.SS.R., Superior) has been established at Pretoria. The mission in that city—the administrative capital of the Union of South Africa—was founded in 1877 by the Right Rev. Dr. Jolivet, O.M.I.

In the Transvaal there are 21 priests, 167 religious, 22 public churches, chapels, and stations, and 16 schools. The Transvaal yield of gold exceeds in value £38,000,000 per annum, and the exploitation of base metals has commenced. Mines are so scattered over the face of the country as to make the work of the Catholic clergy peculiarly difficult, and of course it is only at the larger centres that churches can be built. Johannesburg, Pretoria, Krugersdorp, Potchefstroom, and Germiston are well provided for.

VIII. Orange River Vicariate

The Apostolic Vicariate of Orange River extends from Clanwilliam in the Cape Colony northward to Damaraland, lat. 23° 20′. It comprises Gordonia in Bechuanaland, as well as the whole of British Namaqualand, the districts of Calvinia, Kenhardt,

Fraserburg, and Van Ryn's Dorp. This territory is specially the home of the Bosjesmans or Bushmen. To a great extent these regions are merely sandy deserts, and Great Namaqualand on the eastern side extends to the Kalahari Desert.[1] Germans and Boers, as well as English and Irish, are found among the settlers, but Hottentots form the bulk of the population of the two Namaqualands. The Bechuanas belong to the Kaffir race. About 1873 the Cape Government handed over the mission station in Namaqualand, abandoned by the Protestant Rhenish Mission, to Catholic missionaries, and much splendid work has since been done amidst the utmost difficulties and privations. Father Gaudeul was the first Superior. In 1882 the mission was transferred to the Oblates of Saint Francis of Sales. The Vicariate was established in 1898, and the first and present Vicar-apostolic, the Right Rev. John Simon, resides at Pella (near Springfontein), where an excellent church has been built.

When the Oblates first arrived in Little Namaqualand there were not 100 Catholics. In 1903 they numbered 2735. In the year 1909 there were 480 children in Catholic schools, 175 baptisms of children, and 315 of adults. A number of Boers have become converts. There are 13 public churches and chapels, 6 convents, and 12 schools. In Little Namaqualand the natives understand Dutch or English, but in Great Namaqualand, besides German, the extremely difficult language of the Hottentots has to be mastered. A handsome church has been erected at Pella.

[1] Although it is styled "desert," permanent water exists, and there are tracks of great fertility.

IX. Basutoland

Basutoland is a picturesque mountain country bounded on the north and west by the Orange River Province, east by Natal, and on the south by the Cape Colony. The 500,000 Basutos are governed by native chiefs, under a British Commissioner. The Oblates of Mary Immaculate established themselves there in 1862 under Bishop Allard. A Prefecture Apostolic was first formed, and now there is a Vicariate, with the Right Rev. Dr. Cenez, titular Bishop of Nicopolis, at its head. Basutoland is a promising mission, as the people are really intelligent and well disposed, while the population is, as a rule, so well settled as greatly to facilitate missionary work. The number of priests is 24, religious 87, among whom are 22 native nuns. There are 21 churches, chapels and stations, 12 convents, and 19 schools. The able and excellent Paramount Chief of Basutoland is a Catholic.

"Christianity," we are told, "has progressed immensely during recent years, and it would have spread still more speedily had resources been more abundant." This is the lament on all occasions—missions are everywhere crippled for want of funds. Many, very many, more souls could be brought to Christ if Catholics throughout the world were more generous. More than treble the amount now subscribed is urgently wanted. Missionaries certainly do their part of the work, but can this be said of the Catholic people who are in a position to help?

X. The Rhodesian Missions: a Retrospect

We will now trace the history of the Monomotapa or Rhodesian missions. The ecclesiastical history of Southern Africa is full of romance, and exemplifies the truth of the proverb that there is nothing new under the sun: the oldest gold mines of the world have become in Rhodesia the newest diggings, and the most ancient mission to the land of Ophir or Monomotapa, between the Limpopo and Zambesi, is continued by the same society which in the sixteenth century gave a martyr to Southern Africa.

Father Gonçalo Silveira was named by St. Ignatius himself Provincial of the Indies, and in March 1556 he sailed for Goa. In 1560, with two other Fathers of the Society, he arrived at Mozambique, in South-eastern Africa; and soon God so blessed the efforts of the missionaries that many heathens were converted. At Sena on the Zambesi no fewer than 500 slaves were baptized. Father Silveira, at the invitation of the "Monomotapa," or great Kaffir chief, proceeded to his royal residence. The king soon asked for baptism, and his mother, with 300 of his people, was also baptized; but the good work was at once frustrated by the Mohammedans, four of whom persuaded the king that Father Silveira was the emissary of the Portuguese and a magician. The king then condemned the missionary to death. Eight assassins strangled him with a cord and threw his sacred body into the river Mosengesse or Moteses, which flows near the the spot and is a tributary of the Zambesi. At Coimbra and at Lisbon, previous to leaving Europe, the venerable Father Silveira had predicted both the fact and the manner of his martyrdom. It was his prayer and the earnest

desire of his heart that he should die a martyr's death.[1]

In 1569 a Portuguese expedition was fitted out under the command of Dom Francis Barreto, who had been Viceroy of India when the Venerable Father Silveira was martyred. The Monomotapa or Kaffir king was alarmed, and agreed to expel the Mohammedans and open up the country to Christian missions. Certainly in the year 1586 Dominican friars were settled in the Makaranga country, and they had established several out-stations, visited periodically by a missionary from Tete. In 1590 there were four Jesuit stations in south-eastern Africa. However, in consequence of rivalry between the missions, it was decreed by the King of Portugal in 1610 that the land south of the Zambesi should be left in the hands of the Dominicans. These friars accomplished great work, and one of the most complete and reliable books describing the country was written by Father Dos Santos, one of their number.[2]

The Dominicans established 18 churches in South-eastern Africa. It gives some idea of the perils from the sea and from pirates in those days to learn that out of five ships which left Portugal for the East Indies, *via* Sofala and Mozambique, only one, in which Friar Dos Santos was a passenger,

[1] See *The Life of the Venerable Gonçalo da Silveira, S.J., from original sources*, by Hubert Chadwick, S.J., Manresa Press, Roehampton. A very interesting and well-authenticated legend will be found referred to in the *Historia Sociatades*, by Fr. Cordera, S.J. (p. 609). The body of the martyr was carried down the river to a wooded island, where it was guarded by beasts and birds from desecration. The original documents proving the martyrdom of Father Silveira have been found, and the process of the beatification of this venerable servant of God is proceeding before the proper authorities. As regards the Zimbabwe ruins and the African Ophir, *cf.* works by Bent, Hall, and Wilmot on "Monomotapa" and ancient Rhodesian monuments.

[2] A translation of this work will be found in Pinkerton's *Collection of Voyages and Travels.*

returned safely to Lisbon. The *St. Philip* was attacked and plundered by Drake, and the *St. James* was wrecked on 19th August 1585. In the last-mentioned year six Jesuits and two Dominicans were wrecked on a shoal between Sofala and Madagascar, and after having suffered great hardships landed at a place between Quillamane and the river Lindi. Several Dominicans wrecked on the coast of Natal marched for 240 miles through forests, across rivers, and often through hostile tribes. We learn from the records that Father Madeira alone converted and baptized more than 1000 persons, and in 1592 Father Nicholas gave his life for Christ, pierced to death by assegais. Before the end of the sixteenth century the Dominicans had baptized more than 20,000 souls.

It was not until 1830 that the last Dominican left the shores of south-eastern Africa. The Portuguese coast settlements have, however, been continuously served by priests, among whom, formerly, Jesuit missionaries were prominent. The extremely unhealthy condition of these regions cost the lives of many devoted men, and missionary efforts from such a base could not be successful. Of course, the coast missions are continuously carried on under the Bishop of Mozambique. It is impossible within our limits to furnish details, and consequently we must content ourselves with a brief narrative of the latest and most successful efforts of the Church to convert the heathen in that empire of Monomotapa which has now become Rhodesia.

Hundreds of years passed away. Dr. Livingstone found ruins of old chapels, and bell towers yet remained. There were even traditions of prayers and of beliefs. It has now pleased our Lord to ordain a resurrection of the Monomotapa missions.

XI. The Rhodesian Missions of the Society of Jesus: Father Law

Dr. Ricards, titular Bishop of Retimo and Vicar-apostolic of the Eastern Districts of the Cape Colony, had only five priests at his disposal in the early 'seventies, and was fortunate in obtaining assistance from the Society of Jesus. Father Beckx, then General, sent out eight Jesuits, five of whom were priests and three lay-brothers. St. Aidan's College at Grahamstown was then founded. The plan was soon conceived of forming this station into a base of operations for missionary labours, and from it, in due course, the pioneer expedition to Monomotapa under Father Depelchin, S.J., set out in 1879. The limits of this mission, or new Prefecture Apostolic, were declared by Propaganda to be, on the north, the 10th parallel of south latitude; on the south, the Limpopo or Crocodile River; on the east, the Portuguese possessions on the west coast; on the west, the 22nd of east longitude. The spot at that time looked upon as the probable future headquarters of the mission was near the Victoria Falls, on the Zambesi, a distance as the crow flies of 1200 miles from Grahamstown. The mission of the Society for which our proto-martyr, the Venerable Father Silveira, gave his life near the Zambesi was to be resuscitated, but there were terrible difficulties in the way. Desolate and unknown tracts had to be traversed, but, worse than all, the population was entirely hostile to the preaching of Christianity. The field of the mission lay between the Limpopo and Zambesi rivers, and all this country groaned under the tyrannical sway of the Matabele chief

Lobengula, who was the worthy successor of the murderous Moselikatze. From mere whim, and to give a little active service to his warriors, expeditions were often sent out to murder the Mashonas, rob them of their grain, and seize their women and children. A few months before the arrival of the Jesuit missionaries an entire Matabele family had been barbarously put to death by order of the king for the fanciful crime, probably invented by a witch doctor, of having cast a spell over a neighbour.

These pioneer missionaries bore great privations and sufferings with patience, and many of them succumbed to disease and starvation. The most distressing occurrences were those connected with a special mission to Umzila's country, under the direction of Father Augustus Law, S.J. The missionaries, disgusted with the superstition and cruelties at the court of Lobengula, had reason to hope for better success at Umzila's kraal, about 236 miles distant from Gubulawayo. Father Law, Father Wehl, Brother Hedley, and Brother de Sadeleer, with two black servants, left Gubulawayo on 28th May 1880, and from the first were betrayed, as the guides sent to them by Lobengula knew nothing whatever of the country through which they had to travel. We have a full account of the journey in Father Law's journal, published in the third volume of the *Memoir*.[1] From this work we may quote the account of his end, from a translation of a letter which Brother de Sadeleer wrote in Flemish, dated Umgan, 60 leagues north of Umzila's kraal, 19th January 1881 :—

"Almost immediately after our arrival at Umzila's kraal, after our terrible journey on foot of twenty-

[1] *Memoir of Father Law, S.J.* (by his father, the Hon. W. T. Law). Burns & Oates.

one days, both Father Law and Brother Hedley became very seriously ill, which was the reason why they could not accompany me on the 5th of September in search of the lost waggon, with the armed escort which Umzila had given us for that object. They continued, therefore, to live in the hut which Umzila had given to them near his kraal. But this Kaffir hut was very small, ill constructed, exposed to the burning rays of the tropical sun, and admitting in many places the torrents of rain which fell at this season. To complete their great discomfort, the two Matabeles (guides), whom Lobengula had given to attend them, lived in the same hut, so that altogether they were four in number, suffocating in an infected and burning atmosphere, and constantly subject to the visits of the friends of the two Matabeles. At the same time the position of our missionaries got worse and worse. Their only food was Kaffir corn, diluted with dirty water. The meat which Umzila had in the first instance given them was cooked without any salt, and after a very short time they had no meat at all to eat. Add to this that the country was marshy and unhealthy. The greater number of the Matabeles sent to Umzila with Lobengula's two ambassadors, Outabaeze and Amakoko, were prostrated by fever, and one of the Matabeles died.

"Till the middle of October Father Law was able to say Mass, but from the 20th of that month his strength utterly failed him, and for several weeks he was between life and death. Dysentery took a most dangerous form, and his fever, which had been intermittent, now never left him. Then at last there were clear symptoms of yellow fever, and after that there was no hope of his recovery. During the last six days Father Law was almost always delirious,

with very few moments of consciousness. Brother Hedley rendered him all the services in his power, but he was himself laid low by fever, and in the weakest state possible. . . . At last Father Law breathed his last, on the evening of the 25th of November (1880), after a long and painful agony of several days' duration. . . . Our Lord gave him the strength to suffer with resignation and courage to his last moments."

From the same source we may reproduce the following note in pencil to his father, which was among his latest written words :—

"UMZILA'S, *October* 12.

"DEAREST FATHER,—I am not far off my end. I trust in the infinite mercy of God. God bless you —you were the means of giving me the Holy Faith. Tell dear, dear Graves to listen to my last words, and to return to the dear Holy Catholic Faith. Best love to all. I die of fever, but if I could have had proper nourishment I think I could easily have got right. But God's will is sweetest. Jesus! Mary!—Your most affectionate son,

"A. H. LAW, S.J."

A great change occurred when the forces of the Chartered Company defeated Lobengula, and established peace and good government throughout the territory between the Limpopo and Zambesi rivers. The Jesuit missions now made greater progress. As a recognition of their services the Government presented the Society with a large farm about twelve miles from Salisbury, and in due course Father Kerr, S.J., with several German fathers and brothers, took possession of Chishawasha. Since that time the advance has been considerable.

At a very early stage in the history of the Zambesi Mission, it was recognised that it could not be hoped to make much or any spiritual impression on the adult population. Polygamy, gross superstition, and an inherent depravity of nature were well-nigh insuperable obstacles to the acceptance of the Gospel truths. The hopes of the missionaries then naturally fastened on the children. On entering, therefore, upon the possession of this large estate, their first work was to build a rough improvised school-house in which could be gathered for instruction the native children from the surrounding kraals. In the beginning, objection was made by the parents to their children attending the school. But as time went on and this difficulty was to a great extent overcome, there was need for larger and more substantial buildings. Those pioneer missionaries made their own bricks from the clay on the estate, burnt their own lime, felled and shaped their own timber. They were then, as they are to-day, their own masons, carpenters, and general builders.

Under these conditions then, from a solitary hut or two, Chishawasha has to-day developed into a large and flourishing settlement, with an imposing church, into which a thousand and more natives can congregate. There are schoolrooms in which the younger boys are given an elementary education ; there are workshops in which the older boys are taught one or other of the more useful trades ; there is the large farm which helps to the upkeep of the mission-station, and where an improved mode of agriculture is learnt by the natives. The religious training of the boys meantime keeps pace with their secular education. Hasty conversions, however, are nowhere to be more deprecated than in the case

of savages, the evangelization of whom, if the effects are to be solid and lasting, must necessarily be a matter of time. Hence, it is not until they have been under instruction for at least two years, that catechumens are considered sufficiently prepared for Baptism. When this is borne in mind, as well as the fact that Rhodesia is not so densely populated as the country further north, large numerical results will not be expected.

In the course of time a convent had been erected for the Dominican nuns who trained the girls on similar lines to those pursued by the Fathers. As these native boys and girls have grown up, they have intermarried and settled on one or other of the eight Catholic villages established on the estate. In other words, what was done by the Jesuits in the far-famed Reductions of Paraguay in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, has been done, and is being done, although at present on a far smaller and less elaborate scale, in Southern and Northern Rhodesia to-day. How well the Fathers have succeeded, from even a material point of view, is made evident by the fact that Chishawasha Mission is regarded as one of the show places of Salisbury. Hither come High Commissioners and Administrators, Government officials, distinguished travellers from all parts of the world, who leave with words of admiration and praise for all they have seen. But this material progress has, after all, only been a preparation for, and an accompaniment of, the spiritual good that has been effected. The registers tell of well-nigh two thousand Baptisms, and a proportionate number of Christian marriages. Hundreds attend the church for daily Mass, many coming a distance of six or eight miles for the purpose. Almost as many receive Holy Communion daily.

On Sunday the large church is crowded, and the sight of the vast congregation in reverent attitude, all joining in the music and the public prayers, is one that moves to devotion and edification the interested European spectator.

The record of mission work in Rhodesia would not be complete if special mention were omitted of the magnificent hospital work performed by the Dominican Sisters from King William's Town, at Salisbury and Bulawayo, and of their assistance to the missions as teachers of native girls. Indeed, throughout all Southern Africa these sisters and other orders of women have done and are doing in their numerous convents exceedingly valuable work for the salvation of souls.

Before concluding an account of Jesuit missions in South Africa it is desirable to refer to the success of St. Aidan's College, Grahamstown (Eastern Vicariate, Cape Colony), to the usefulness of Dunbrody, and to the humble but splendid mission of Father Berghegge, S.J., carried on indomitably for many years among the poor coloured people of "the Location" in Grahamstown. The work of converting the heathen is extremely difficult because of the curse of polygamy, the gross superstitions in which they are sunk, human respect, and their deep-rooted antipathy to the white man. But God is all-powerful. In twelve years very satisfactory progress had been made. In 1910 there were ten Jesuit mission stations, and the aggregate of native baptisms, including the Cape Colony mission station at Dunbrody and Grahamstown, exceeded 7000. Three of the handsomest churches in South Africa have been built in Bulawayo, Chishawasha, and Empandeni, as well as a beautiful though small one at Salisbury. The Notre Dame nuns teach 350

scholars. At present Father Sykes, S.J., formerly Provincial of the English province, is Prefect-apostolic and superior of the whole mission, for most of which the English province is now exclusively responsible. The work is advancing satisfactorily, though somewhat hampered by want of means. The latest development is the starting of a separate mission in North-west Rhodesia, entrusted to the fathers of the Polish province of the Society—a valuable reinforcement in dealing with this enormous field of labour. The ecclesiastical statistics of the Rhodesian Prefecture comprise 54 Jesuits (32 priests and 22 brothers). Besides there are 3 priests and 6 brothers from Mariannhill. Nuns: 82 Dominicans, 9 of Notre Dame, and 10 of "The Precious Blood."

XII. Northern Transvaal

The Right Rev. Bishop Miller, finding that with the inadequate missionary staff at his disposal and the lack of pecuniary resources he could not hope to do much for the spiritual welfare of the population in the immense districts to the north of the Transvaal known as the Waterberg and the Zoutparsberg, petitioned the Holy See to relieve him of the care of that region, which contains half a million of souls. Accordingly, by a decree of 23rd December 1910, Pope Pius X. having separated it from the Vicariate of the Transvaal, erected it into a separate jurisdiction under the name of the Prefecture-apostolic of the Northern Transvaal, and entrusted it to the Benedictine Fathers of the Primitive Observance. In the following month the Very Rev. D. I. Lanslots, O.S.B., was appointed the first Prefect Apostolic. He is assisted by five priests of the same order and three lay-brothers.

There are two churches and several out-stations, with a Catholic population of 250.

Summing up the position in Southern Africa, we have to thank God for excellent and devoted bishops, priests, and religious in seven Vicariates and two Prefectures. Our Jesuit, Trappist, and Oblate missions among aboriginals and other natives are most worthy of generous support. The very large number of convent schools throughout South Africa among a comparatively small Catholic population is a powerful factor for good. Colleges and schools belong to the Jesuits, Marists, and Christian Brothers, and flourish. The fine buildings of the Nazareth House Sisters at all the great centres show how much their work is appreciated, and the Salesians in their large Capetown institution give an industrial education to numbers of poor waifs and strays. The Society of St. Vincent of Paul, established first at Capetown in 1856, and in Port Elizabeth in 1858, possesses conferences throughout South Africa. The Central Councils are in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.

The entire Catholic population of South Africa may be estimated at a total of not much more than 100,000, of whom nearly half are natives. But this vast country is like a new building of which the foundations only have been laid. It will eventually become one of the greatest national edifices of the southern hemisphere, under the banner of the Southern Cross. Father Kenelm Vaughan wrote thus in the *Catholic Magazine of South Africa*: "This pagan Kaffir country, which I pictured to myself as dark as the sky in a stormy night, is, I can see, set with many brilliant stars which are casting their light everywhere and driving away the darkness around. . . . In a word, here and there

throughout these heathen countries of South Africa Catholic missions with their churches, with the Blessed Sacrament, their Christian schools, convents, seminaries, and colleges are springing up everywhere, conveying the light of the Gospel of salvation to the black races. The secret of the marvellous success of the missions of South Africa is, it seems to me, the self-sacrificing spirit and high motive of action of the missioner—his love of God, in a word, and his love and thirst for souls."

Let us trust that God in His mercy will apply to South Africa the prophecy of Isaias v. 3: "He will make her desert as a place of pleasure, and her wilderness as a garden of the Lord. Joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving and the voice of praise."

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THE MISSIONS OF INDIA

By A. Hilliard Atteridge

The best estimates of the population of the world place the present numbers of the human race at about 1500 millions. A very complete census of India and reliable estimates of the population of China show that in these two regions there are nearly 600 millions of human beings. In other words, more than a third of the human race is concentrated in these two countries. Both are beyond the bounds of Christendom. It follows, therefore, that India and China are the two great mission fields of the Catholic Church, whose Divine commission it is "to teach all nations."

In a previous pamphlet I have described the state of Catholicity in China,[1] and I shall now attempt a similar survey of the Catholic Missions of India.

The Indian Empire includes Burma, but the great island of Ceylon, though it belongs geographically and historically to the Indian region, is a Crown Colony under a separate administration, and therefore is not included in the Indian Census. But from the point of view of the Catholic missionary, as well as in the popular mind, it belongs to India. It is therefore included in this general survey of the Indian mission field.

[1] *The Missions of China* (Catholic Truth Society, 1d.).

The history of Catholicity in India goes back to Apostolic times. In the Bull *Humanæ salutis auctor* (September 1, 1886), which decreed the establishment of the hierarchy in India, Leo XIII. alluded to the mission of St. Thomas as a tradition dating from the early ages of the Church. Since then Oriental research has added largely to the evidence of its historical character.[1] To this day the Catholics of India invoke St. Thomas as their patron, and as far as we go back in the history of Indian Christianity we find traces of this devotion. But it is not surprising that we know nothing of the story of the Christians of India for some centuries after the Apostolic age. The one branch of Indian literature that is all but absolutely barren up to the late period of the Mohammedan invasion is history. It is a difficult matter to reconstruct even the story of the great native kingdoms. It is no wonder then that we have no records of the Christians of the first centuries. We have, however, some indirect evidence as to the existence of Christianity in Southern India at an early date in the undoubted fact that, even before the close of the classical period of Sanskrit literature, there are traces of Christian influence on Hindu legend, especially in connection with the Vaishnavite sects of the south. Further, we know that from a very early period there have existed on the Malabar coast Christian communities using—as they still do—the Syriac liturgy. This shows the dependence of the early Church of India on the

[1] A masterly summary of this evidence will be found in the work of Father Joseph Dahlmann, S.J., *Die Thomas-Legende und die ältesten historischen Beziehungen des Christentums zum fernen Osten im Lichte der indischen Altertumskunde* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1912). The work is based upon a paper on the subject read by Father Dahlmann at a meeting of the Oriental Society of Japan held at the British Embassy at Tokio.

Eastern Church, but even when the whole East was in communion with Rome communication between India and the countries of the Mediterranean was slow and difficult. Towards the close of the fifth century Nestorianism spread to India, and gradually the Church of St. Thomas became what the Church of Abyssinia is even at the present day—a Christian community severed from the centre of unity, and more and more influenced by superstitions that filtered into its life from surrounding paganism. When the first missionaries arrived from the West in the sixteenth century, they found the scattered communities of the Malabar Christians in a wretched state of degradation and disorganization.

A new era began with that wonderful opening out of the world to Western enterprise that marked the period of the great navigators of Spain and Portugal. To the latter country fell the opening up of the Far East. In the new evangelization of India the Franciscans of Portugal were the pioneers. The first band of missionaries reached India in 1500, and before the year had closed Father Peter de Covilhao, the protomartyr of the later Indian missions, was put to death while preaching the faith.

To Portugal—now, alas! so sadly fallen—belongs the high honour of having organized the work of the Indian missions as a first concern of the kingdom in its relations with the East. It was at the request of the King of Portugal that St. Francis Xavier was sent to India in 1541, and for many a year after that date every fleet that sailed from Lisbon for the East conveyed a band of missionaries, many of whom had been educated at the royal expense in the universities of Coimbra and Evora. In acknowledgment of this practical zeal for the missions, the Holy See conferred on the Portuguese crown wide-reaching rights of

patronage over the new churches of the Far East; Paul III. established the archiepiscopal see of Goa (1534) with the dignity of a patriarchate, and later the sees of Cochin, Cranganore, and Meliapore were established as Portuguese influence extended to new territories. During the few years that he laboured in India before going on to new conquests in Japan, St. Francis Xavier did a work that has in great part endured to this day. He completed the conversion of the Paravas of the Fishery Coast, founded the Christianity of Ceylon, and made crowds of converts in the states of Cochin and Travancore. To this day the lands where he laboured are among those where the largest number of native Christians are to be found.

There is no other name so great as that of Xavier in the records of Catholicity in India, but amongst his Jesuit successors there were many whose story is too little known amongst us. Robert de' Nobili made the first converts among the Brahmans of Madura. He was the first European to discover the Sanskrit language and literature, and to read the hitherto unknown sacred books of Hinduism. His successor, De Britto, after making thousands of converts, was martyred in the Marava country. Later still, the Jesuit Beschi wrote the *Tembuvani*, one of the three classical poems of Southern India. Another Jesuit, Andrada, passed the Himalayas and revealed to Europe the unknown land of Tibet. Rudolph Aquaviva, afterwards martyred at Salsette, disputed with the Mollahs before the Emperor Akbar.[1] Nor were the other missionary orders

[1] He was the "Christian priest Redif" named in the story of Akbar's life—the *Akbar namah* — as a friend of the great Sultan and the representative of Christianity in the public disputations between teachers of various religions held at his Court. Hunter (*The Indian Empire*, 1st edition, p. 239) says that the native writer, in his record of the disputation, "gives him the best of the argument."

without their share in this new Indian harvest of souls. Franciscans, Barnabites, Carmelites, each had their field of fruitful labour. To the Carmelites was due the return of the old Syrian Christian communities of Malabar to Catholic unity and their renunciation of the errors of Nestorius. To this day the "White Friars" are the missionaries of Cochin and Travancore, the districts where the Christians of the Syrian rite are most numerous. They gave the Church of India great scholars as well as successful missionaries. It was a Carmelite—Paolino de San Bartolomeo—who wrote the first Sanskrit grammar in a European language, a work based on the native classical grammar of Panini.

It is no wonder that with such labourers in the field, so many successes won, there were hopes of a speedy conversion of India. But these bright hopes were doomed to disappointment. The eighteenth century, one of the darkest periods in the history of the Church, a time of widespread apostasy, coldness of faith, and laxity of practice in so many countries, with its tale of persecution and trial for the Church, was a period of woeful decline for the missions of India. The power of Portugal was already on the wane, Holland was taking the lead in maritime enterprise in the Far East, and where the Dutch obtained a footing the missionaries were expelled and the native Catholics cruelly persecuted.

Then an unworthy successor of the King who had sent Xavier to India suppressed the Society of Jesus throughout the Portuguese dominions. With the warfare against the Church in Europe, that culminated in the outbreak of the great Revolution in the closing years of the century, the supply of missionaries was almost entirely cut off. Wars in India and the persecuting policy of native princes completed the destruc-

tion of the missions, and the faith disappeared from whole provinces. Tippoo Sahib, the Sultan of Mysore, during the years when he was the master of Southern India, adopted a policy of breaking up the Christian communities, deporting the people in isolated groups to pagan districts, and forcibly repressing all Catholic worship. Left without priests, the people baptized their children and met for prayers at times ; but the life of an Indian generation is comparatively short, and soon in wide regions the knowledge of Catholicity was a waning tradition of the past. At Goa a considerable number of native and half-caste Catholics were kept together under the Portuguese secular clergy, but with a low standard of education and practice. The Syrian rite Christians of Travancore and Cochin were ministered to by a few Carmelites and native priests. The fisher folk of the Parava district, descendants of St. Francis Xavier's converts, also held fast to the faith. In the Madura district there was another large group of Christian families, but here, in the first years of the nineteenth century, Protestant missionaries formed the nucleus of the English church of Tinnevelly and Ramnad out of groups of villagers who were the descendants of Catholics, but had lost all but a vague knowledge of the faith.

In India, as in China, only the wreckage of once prosperous missions remained, when at last in 1836 Gregory XVI. took in hand the reorganization of the missions of the Far East, erected a number of Apostolic vicariates, and sent the first band of Jesuit missionaries to their old field of labour in the Madura district. But then there began a time of new trials and difficulties. The Portuguese Government protested that the establishment of the new vicariates and the sending of bishops and missionaries to India

without its co-operation and direction was a violation of the *Padroado*—the old right of patronage granted by the Holy See to the Portuguese kings. It was in vain that it was pointed out that these privileges had been granted when Portugal was not only the dominant European power in India, but also ready to undertake in return the education of priests for the missions, their transit to the East, and the support of the mission establishments. The Patriarch of Goa put himself at the head of a schism in India. He declared that the Vicars Apostolic were intruders, and in order to prevent them from taking possession of old mission churches, long abandoned, he ordained as priests numbers of Goanese young men who were deficient alike in moral training and theological learning. In many places violent attacks were organized against the new missions. In others vexatious law-suits were begun against the missionaries in the Indian courts. It was not till 1857 that the first step towards ending the schism was made by a convention concluded between the Holy See and the Portuguese Government. But even after this date there were local troubles arising from the divided jurisdiction that placed some of the Catholics under the jurisdiction of the Goanese Patriarchate and the rest under the Vicars Apostolic.

Meanwhile, during these years of trial, some progress had been made. The "second spring" of the Catholic Church in India had begun. At the outset the missionaries were very few, and the conditions of life in India, the lack of all the devices and the practical experience that have now made work in the tropics so much safer for the European, resulted in their numbers being thinned each year by sickness and death. But gradually the remnants of the old mission congregations were gathered into

the new organizations and instructed; the first converts were made, catechists were trained, schools and churches were built, and with the growth of the work new vicariates were erected, until during the pontificate of Pius IX. a network of mission organization extended over the whole of India—strongest in the south, but not without flourishing communities of Christians even in the north. At the same time good progress was being made in the Buddhist lands of Burma and Ceylon, the latter a Crown Colony, the former in the first years of this period for the most part a pagan kingdom, but all of it annexed to India as a result of the war of 1885. A million and a half of native Christians were under allegiance to the Holy See when on September 1, 1886, Leo XIII. published the Bull erecting the hierarchy in India.

The progress made by the missions justified the step, but it was taken largely with a view to put an end to difficulties that had arisen from the double jurisdiction established by the Concordat with Portugal in 1857. A second Concordat was negotiated in January 1886, by which the old *Padroado* was abolished, and the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Goa was limited in India to the Goanese territory and the suffragan sees of Cochin, Cranganore, and Meliapore.[1] The Bull of September 1 then erected the existing vicariates into the sees of the new hierarchy. Burma was left out of the arrangement, its three vicariates remaining as before. Ceylon was placed under the jurisdiction of an archbishop, with his see at Colombo and bishoprics at Kandy and Jaffna. In India itself archbishoprics were

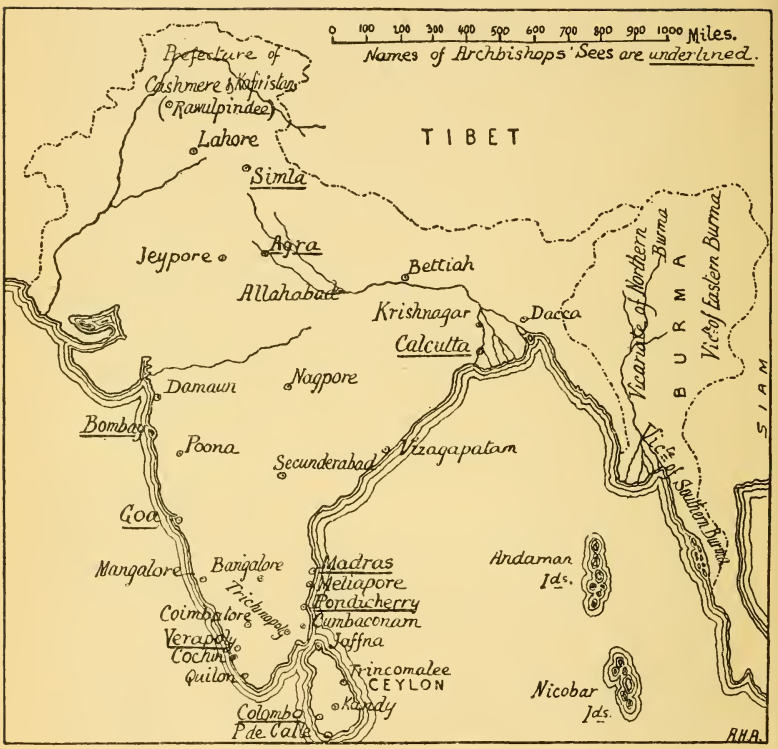
[1] The Patriarch of Goa has also jurisdiction over the Bishop of Macao, the only remaining Portuguese possession in China, and over the Portuguese colony of Mozambique in Africa.

created at Calcutta, Agra, Madras, Bombay, Verapoly, and Pondicherry, the Patriarch of Goa holding the dignity of Primate, in recognition of the historic importance of his see. In all there were twenty-five dioceses with eight archbishoprics amongst them,[1] the number of these being based, it would seem, rather upon the extent of territory in question than on the total number of the episcopate.

The first Council of the Indian episcopate was held at Allahabad in February 1887. One result of its deliberations was the erection of two vicariates for the Catholics of the Syrian rite in the south. Decrees were drawn up regulating the methods to be adopted in fulfilling the double task of the Church in India and Ceylon — the care of the existing Christian communities and the evangelization of the millions of Hindus, Buddhists, and Mohammedans.

The annexed outline map of India and Ceylon shows the distribution of the episcopal sees, the names of those which are the sees of archbishops being underlined. It will be noticed that, if we draw an imaginary line east and west across the peninsula just north of Madras, there are south of this line eleven bishoprics on the mainland and five in the island of Ceylon—sixteen in all. North of the line there are just sixteen other sees and the Apostolic Prefecture of Cashmere and Kafiristan, with its headquarters at Rawulpindee, and the three Vicariates Apostolic of Burma. But the extent of

[1] A ninth archbishopric—that of Simla—was created by Pius X., by a decree dated September 13, 1910. The new archdiocese was formed by taking certain districts from the archdiocese of Agra and the diocese of Lahore. Father Anselm Kenealy, for some time Provincial of the Capuchins in England, was appointed the first Archbishop, and was consecrated at Rome on the New Year's Day of 1911. The new ecclesiastical province of Simla includes the archbishopric, the diocese of Lahore, and the Apostolic Prefecture of Cashmere and Kafiristan.



THE MISSIONS OF INDIA.

the country south of the line is about one-ninth of that to the north of it. This brings out very strikingly the fact that Ceylon and the extreme south of the Indian Peninsula are the stronghold of our Indian Catholic missions. The dioceses in which the Catholics bear the largest proportion to the total population are those of Verapoly, Cochin, and Quilon, all situated in the native state of Travancore. This state and the coast districts between Quilon and Cumbaconam, and the district of Jaffna on the opposite shore, were among the most fruitful scenes of the labours of St. Francis Xavier. Pondicherry includes a great part of the territory of the old mission of Madura, famous for the labours of De Nobili and De Britto.

It will be noticed that in the island of Ceylon (which is about two-thirds of the size of Ireland) there are no less than five bishoprics. Of these, three (Colombo, the metropolitan see, Jaffna, and Kandy) were established on the creation of the new Indian hierarchy, and six years later the progress of Catholicity in the island warranted the erection of two new sees at Trincomalee and Point de Galle. The Catholics number over 300,000; all the other Christian denominations together cannot muster 100,000. Yet, when at the beginning of the nineteenth century England took over the island from the Dutch, it was claimed that there were in Ceylon half a million native Protestants, while the Catholics were not one-tenth of that number. But the numbers of the nominal Protestants had been swollen by a system of State coercion in favour of Calvinism, and as soon as the old Dutch system was abolished the native Protestantism of Ceylon melted away like a snow-wreath in the sunshine. After the reorganization of the missions and the establishment

of the first Apostolic Vicariate of Ceylon, the numbers of the Catholics rose at first slowly and then very rapidly. Catholicity is now a recognized power in the island. At Kandy, in the hills, there has been established a great seminary for the training of a native clergy for the Indian missions generally. It is under the direction of a staff of Jesuit professors.

An Indian missionary diocese necessarily differs in its organization from a diocese in Europe. Here in the West the secular clergy are in charge of most or all of the parishes—the members of religious orders and congregations are their auxiliaries, often doing no regular parochial work. But, with the exception of Goa, Damaan, and Madras, every diocese in India has grown up out of a mission district evangelized by one or other of the religious orders, and the members of this order, mostly Europeans, do the greater part of the work. The native secular clergy are their auxiliaries. In most of the dioceses there are also native priests belonging to the religious orders in charge of the mission, but it is recognized that on the increase of the secular clergy depends the harvest of the future. The normal condition of affairs—still in a far-off future—would be an organization of parishes under native priests—with the religious orders aiding them by educational and missionary work, as in the Catholic countries of Europe. It had been recognized from the first that in the creation of a native clergy lay the hope of India's future from the Catholic point of view, and the letters of Leo XIII. and Pius X. on the subject only gave a new impetus to a movement that was already in existence. Every Indian diocese has its seminary for native students, and the number of priests increases each year.

It is, as a rule, through native helpers that the European missionary makes converts. Each mission has its organization of trained native catechists. These are generally approached by inquirers who would hesitate to visit a priest; they are entrusted with the instruction of the converts under the supervision of the missionary of their district, and in places where no priest is permanently stationed they also read prayers in the village chapel when he is absent, and further act as school teachers.

When I speak of village chapels the reader must not make a mental picture of such a church as is to be found even in the poorest of our Catholic country parishes at home. In the cities of India the Catholics have many fine churches, and a few in country towns. But as a rule the chapel of an Indian village is a very humble structure. Often it is little better than a native hut—walls of sun-dried clay built in between the rough wooden posts that support the roof of palm-leaves, with a bank of hardened earth on which to place the altar stone. When Mass is said the chapel is decorated by hanging red and white stuff on its walls, and perhaps attempting some rudely artistic devices with tinsel and bright paper. Sticklers for correct ritual arrangements will be pleased to hear that there is generally a baldacchino. It is indeed almost a necessity. But it is made up of a piece of coloured cloth stretched over the altar on four poles, to prevent spiders, insects, or even a stray snake dropping on to the altar.

It is a tradition with Protestant writers to attribute the success of the Catholic missions in Southern India especially to "the effect of the gorgeous ceremonial of the Roman Church." But with sanctuaries like these, recalling the poverty of the

cave at Bethlehem, stately ceremonial display is clearly an impossibility. As to what can be done on a special occasion, take this extract from a letter I received a few years ago from one of my correspondents in the Madura mission :—

"On Sunday I am going to bless my chapel. One church has lent me an old cope ; from another I have borrowed two wooden candlesticks. Père Selvam has given me twelve wax candles, and the Christians of Udanandi will not only come over and sing the music of the Mass, but will bring me a thurible and a holy water sprinkler. So the chapel will be blessed and I shall sing my first Mass in it."

So far from stately churches and elaborate ceremonial being a factor in the numerous conversions in the country districts, the real state of affairs is that the wretched poverty and mean surroundings of the village churches are an obstacle to conversions and unfavourably impress the native mind. They hear that the Catholics believe these miserable shanties are during the time of Christian worship the dwelling-place of God, and they wonder why, if this is so, the Catholics do not erect, if not elaborate buildings like the mosque and pagoda, at least something better than the mud-built shed. We, of course, see in this poverty a repetition of the Divine condescension of Bethlehem and Nazareth, but even with this explanation in our minds all who have a zeal for the missions of India cannot help at times wishing that even a fraction of the money lavished on our churches in Europe, sometimes in mere temporary decoration, could be used to make these village chapels a little more outwardly fit for the high purposes to which they are dedicated.

If the village church is often so very different from

what we in Europe associate with the name, so the work of the missionary in an Indian country district does not correspond to the popular idea of a preacher of the faith among the heathen. Many people picture the Jesuit or Franciscan missionary from Europe sallying out into the crowd in the market-place or before the temple, and, crucifix in hand, proclaiming the good tidings to the crowd, or, like St. Francis among the Paravas, passing from village to village ringing his bell to gather a congregation. In India the missionary, as a rule, preaches only to the converted. He has for his field of work not a parish but a district, often of great extent, containing perhaps fifty or even eighty villages. In the more Catholic regions of the south there are a few examples of villages where nearly all are converts and the descendants of converts, where there is a resident priest, and the Angelus bell rings morning, noon, and night. But in most districts the Catholics are groups of families in each village into which the faith has penetrated. They are a scattered flock, and the missionary's first duty is to visit them, say Mass and minister the Sacraments to them, strengthen them in the faith, see that their practice corresponds to their profession, and that their children are baptized and trained to be good Catholics. If this can be done, each group of Catholics becomes a centre of light to the surrounding paganism, and the Hindus themselves come to the catechist or missionary to ask questions, and so converts are made. With this system—and no other could give better results—the missionary must be a traveller, moving about his district continually, generally in a covered ox-cart, which is his house on wheels. Here is an extract from a letter of a missionary in the south describing his method of travel :—

"My cart serves as my room while I am on the move. I pass days and nights in it. There I sleep, say my prayers, or read, in the midst of all manner of shaking and jolting. I can tell you that there is not a spot in the little place of which I have not tested the solidity with my head or my shoulders. If you were to see me starting on one of my journeys you would have some idea of the quantity of baggage one has to get into this machine. On the seats I put my bedding, made up of a mat and a rug. There is a box containing all that is required for Mass and the Sacraments of Baptism and Extreme Unction. A little case, which in France I would call my desk, holds my writing materials and a small sum of money. Then there are my umbrella, my lantern of bright tin, and a few odds and ends. You must remember that in some of the best of the village shops one cannot find even a box of matches; this will help you to understand how careful one must be in one's preparations before starting. As for provisions, one can find almost anywhere fowls, eggs, rice and curry. Beyond this you cannot get much in the country. In some cases the Christians are able to put a miserable room at one's disposal, but in others there is not a corner to be had. Often the cart is the best lodging. This is why one takes on the journey some plates and cooking utensils stowed away under the seats, with some provisions."

During his stay at each village the missionary says Mass, administers the Sacraments, visits the sick, preaches, meets inquirers presented by the local catechist, tests and helps to complete the instruction of the catechumens, and admits those who are ready for it to Baptism. This is the round of work that goes on from year to year, with no start-

ling events to mark an epoch in it, unless indeed one counts as such the extra strain of work and the danger of a visitation of cholera, or the relief efforts that have to be undertaken after a bad season or a local storm and inundation.

In the cities and large towns the work is less lonely, and in these there is often a European colony including some Catholics; or it may be the officers and men of an Irish regiment help to swell the congregation. In such places too there may be a convent of European nuns to direct the girls' schools and look after various charitable undertakings, and a college or high school. In the colleges many of the pupils will be non-Christians, but their education will at least help to break down prejudices against Catholic teaching.

And now comes the question of results. We may say that the first thirty years of the Indian missions, after the beginning of the reorganization under Gregory XVI., were a time when the efforts of the missionaries were devoted chiefly to gathering together and strengthening in the faith the remnant of the old Catholic congregations. It was a period of reconstruction. Converts were indeed made, but the steady flow of conversions could only be looked for after this preliminary work was done. Since then there has been remarkable progress. The results of the Government census, as well as the reports of the vicariates and dioceses, show an unceasing growth in the numbers of the Catholics of India. They are most numerous in Southern India and Ceylon, the lands of the Tamul races. In the Aryan lands of the north they are a scattered flock, and large districts are still almost untouched.

At the beginning of 1887, the year of the establishment of the Indian hierarchy, the numbers of the

Catholics were as follows, according to the returns published in the *Madras Catholic Directory* :—

India (exclusive of Goa and the Portuguese possessions) . .	989,381
Ceylon	207,692
The three vicariates of Burma .	27,354
Total . .	1,224,427

The general totals supplied by the Indian Government Census of 1911 may be taken to represent the situation twenty-four years after the establishment of the hierarchy. The figures added for Ceylon are those of the diocesan statistics. The island is not under the Indian Government :—

CENSUS OF INDIA (INCLUDING BURMA), 1911

Native Catholics of the Latin rite	1,394,000
Native Catholics of the Syrian rite	413,142
Eurasian and European Catholics	97,144
Total . .	1,904,286
Ceylon (Catholics, mostly native) .	322,163
Total for India and Ceylon	2,226,449

In this, as in the preceding estimate, the Catholics of Goa and the minor Portuguese possessions are not included.[1] The Goanese statistics are not very reliable, for the figures given by different authorities vary largely. But the total number of Catholics, mostly natives or of the mixed Eurasian race, may be set

[1] The Portuguese administration carried out a census in December 1910, and supplied the results to the Indian Government; but no statistics of religions in the Goanese territory are included in the general analysis of religious statistics issued in the summary of the Indian Census, which covers only British territory and the native states of British India.

down as about 300,000. This would bring the total number of Catholics in India and Ceylon up to about two and a half millions.

In measuring the progress of the last quarter of a century we may omit the figures for Goa, simplifying our calculation by supposing that these are fairly constant. This will if anything diminish, and certainly will not exaggerate, the total increase shown.

Comparing, then, the figures already given for 1887 and 1911, we have this striking result :—

Increase in India (including Burma) .	987,821
Increase in Ceylon	114,201
Total increase . .	1,102,022

This represents an increase of ninety per cent. on the total of 1887. The increase of population is greater in the Christian communities than among the pagans, but even allowing for this, an increase of thirty per cent. would be a liberal allowance for this element in the calculation. There is no immigration. On the contrary, there is some loss in the emigration of numbers of the Tamul Catholics of the south as coolie labourers to various tropical countries. There may possibly have been some underestimating of numbers in the figures supplied by the vicariates at the end of 1886, though missionaries are not usually supposed to err in this way. But allowing for all these possible elements in the comparison, the figures are such that an immense number of conversions is the only possible explanation of this increase of the Catholic population.

Manifold progress is also shown by the diocesan statistics. Take for instance the diocese of Trichinopoly. On the eve of the restoration of the hierarchy

the vicariate of Madura reported the number of the Catholics as 166,457. When the vicariate became the diocese of Trichinopoly, a portion of it which contained a large Christian population was detached and assigned to the diocese of Meliapore. But though the present diocese contains less territory than the old vicariate, the returns for 1912 showed that its Catholic population was 254,966. In the preceding twelve months there had been 1854 baptisms of adult converts.

But these figures only represent one aspect of the recent progress of our Indian missions. In 1866 the Madura vicariate had 7260 children in its schools. The diocese has now 20,000. In 1886 there were 53 European missionaries and 26 native priests, with 7 students in the seminary. In 1912 there were 130 European missionaries and 49 native priests. There were 26 students in the seminary for the formation of the native clergy, and 52 scholastics and novices (mostly natives) in the Jesuit novitiate and house of studies. Among the 27 lay-brothers of the Jesuit mission 22 were natives. There were 37 members of the native Congregation of the Sacred Heart, an order of men devoted to education. There were 262 nuns of various orders, engaged in the direction of a number of educational and charitable institutions.

But even this increase in the number of workers still leaves the mission, like every other in India, seriously under-staffed for the work to be done. In many districts, after allowing for the necessary deductions for sickness and invaliding through age, the missionaries barely suffice for the necessary ministrations to the Catholics, and have little time for any direct efforts at evangelizing the surrounding heathendom. Here, as in China, it is only the

relative cheapness of the living under native conditions and the self-denying lives of the missionaries that make it possible to accomplish so much on limited resources. Alms for the missions produce, thanks to these conditions, relatively larger results than the same sum would produce in Europe or America. A native catechist who gives all his time to the work is paid about 15s. a month. Some of the village catechists receive much less, and partly support themselves by manual work. The education of a boy in one of the preparatory schools or "minor seminaries" of the south costs £6 a year. When as a young man he goes on to his direct studies for the priesthood in the Great Seminary, the cost is only about £14 a year. Many a village church has been built and equipped in a way that makes it the pride of its Catholic congregation for from £20 to £30. Very many have cost less.

The need of the missions may be summed up thus—more priests, more catechists, more school teachers. In Southern India, as in China, the fields are white for the harvest. The north is still for the most part in the pioneering stage.

There are more English and Irish priests in India than in China, but they are not many, and it would be a gain if the numbers were largely increased. English has become the common language of educated natives, to such an extent that it is that of the Indian National Congress, and of some of the most widely circulated organs of the native press. It is to India what Latin was to mediæval Europe. But most of the missionaries come from Continental Europe. Thus, for instance, in the ecclesiastical provinces of Agra and Simla in the north all the dioceses are assigned to Capuchins of the Italian, French, Belgian, and Tyrolese provinces of the

Order. The only exception is the Apostolic Prefecture of Cashmere and Kafiristan, which is being evangelized by the missionaries of St. Joseph's College, Mill Hill. The Belgian Jesuits supply workers to the archdiocese of Calcutta ; and German, French, and Italian Jesuits form the majority of the missionary body in the four dioceses of the province of Bombay. The Fathers of the Paris Séminaire des Missions Étrangères are the missionaries of the five dioceses of the province of Pondicherry and the three vicariates of Burma. Spanish Carmelites man the missions of Verapoly, and Belgian Carmelites those of Quilon. In Ceylon the archdiocese of Colombo and the diocese of Jaffna are assigned to the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Kandy to the Benedictines, Galle to French Jesuits, and Trincomalee to Jesuits of the Belgian province.

Burma is still divided into Apostolic vicariates, three in number. The vicariate of Southern Burma includes most of the territory that formed the old British province before the advance to Mandalay in 1885. Its centre is Rangoon. The mission is in the hands of the priests of the Paris Séminaire des Missions Étrangères, and there are now a number of native Burmese priests working with them. There are more than 45,000 native Christians—not all Burmese, for there are some congregations of Tamul-speaking immigrants from Southern India, and Chinese Christians. The mission owes much of its progress and its present solid organization to the good work done during the life of the last Vicar Apostolic, Bishop Bigandet, who died in 1894. He was a man of enterprising views, and an Oriental scholar of world-wide reputation. His writings on Burmese Buddhism have been translated into many languages. The new territories annexed to India

in 1885 have been divided into two vicariates—Northern Burma, with its centre at Mandalay (also a mission of the Paris Seminary), and Eastern Burma, which includes the lands between the Salween river and the frontiers of Siam and of the Chinese province of Yunnan. This border country is entrusted to the priests of the Milan Mission Seminary. Mandalay has, besides the cathedral, churches for the Chinese and the Tamul-speaking Hindus. The two northern vicariates include, besides missions to the Burmese, work among the Shan and Laos tribes, aboriginal peoples of the hills and jungles who held the land before the Burman conquest. In the northern and eastern vicariates there are in all some 18,000 Catholics. The total for all Burma is thus about 60,000. In 1845, when the first Vicar Apostolic began the reorganization of the missions of Burma, the total was 2500.

Everywhere throughout the Indian mission region there is good progress, all the more notable if the statistics of earlier times are compared with those of recent years. From time to time there are large accessions of converts in particular districts. Thus more than a quarter of a century ago the Belgian missionaries received in a few years more than 30,000 natives into the Church in the Chota Nagpore district, a single missionary converting many thousands of them. A few years ago, in the Trichinopoly diocese, in one year in a small group of villages 600 adults asked for instruction without ever having been directly approached by priest or catechist. But the normal course of events is the steady increase of converts, as the growth of the Catholic communities in town and village forms centres of example and attraction for their non-Christian neighbours, and at the same time conversion becomes less an act that will isolate the

convert from all friendly dealings with men of his own race. It is this isolation of the convert from so much of the life of the people that makes the pioneering stage of a mission in India a peculiarly difficult time. Once that stage is passed one can look for a continual increase in the number of conversions. Of the Indian missions one may safely say—to sum up—that far greater results have been obtained than even the most sanguine looked for fifty years ago, and the outlook is distinctly hopeful.

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THE MISSIONS OF CHINA

By A Hilliard Atteridge

Late in the summer of 1911 there was a popular rising in the province of Sze-chuen on the upper course of the Yang-tse river. The first reports that reached Europe represented it as a mere local outbreak against one of the railway schemes of the Government—an ignorant protest against the introduction of European methods into the province. It was expected that the revolt would be confined to the place of its origin, and would be trampled out as easily as a rising that had been attempted in the same district four years earlier.

But then came the news that the troops sent against the rebels had fraternized with them, and that the movement was spreading like wildfire down the great waterway of the Yang-tse-kiang. Hankow, the strategic and commercial centre of the middle Yang-tse region, was besieged and taken. By this time it was clear that the rising was no mere provincial disturbance, but that a national movement was in progress directed against the Manchu dynasty, with the watchword of "China for the Chinese." It was organized by leaders who had studied in Europe and America, and funds had been subscribed by the Chinese merchants and traders, not only of the Empire itself but wherever a Chinese colony is to be found. For the first time in the history of Chinese rebellions there was among the leaders of the movement no hostility to the white foreigners. On the contrary, the organizers of the rising proclaimed that the time had come for China to break

with the tradition of centuries, and learn from the hitherto hated foreigner the lessons of modern civilization; to do what Japan had done, cast off the trammels of the past, and enter upon a new era of power and prosperity.

It is true that amid the confusion of a time of revolution foreign missionaries and traders in some of the inland provinces were at times exposed to serious danger. Here and there robber bands roved the country; mob leaders, ignorant of the real objects of the revolt, followed the old tradition of attacking the European establishments; mutinous soldiers plundered the foreigner and the native alike. But these were exceptional phases of disorder. As a rule the foreigner was safe from attack. In more than one instance, even when a town was plundered, sentries were posted to protect the mission stations. In some cases mandarins who had been bitterly hostile to the missions found in the day of their downfall a refuge for themselves and their families in the mission stations. The success of the rising enabled the newly constituted local authorities to put an end to mere riot and plundering. The proclamation of the Chinese Republic at Pekin was accompanied by an assurance that the new *régime* would not only tolerate but welcome and protect the missions, as agencies of education in the new ways upon which the nation had entered.[1]

Those who know China best are hopeful of the new departure, but at the same time admit that the horizon is not quite cloudless, and that, like all Governments established by a revolution, the new *régime* may yet have to deal with serious internal

[1] On February 26, 1912, the President, Yuan-shi-kai, in an audience he gave to the Vicar Apostolic, Mgr. Jarlin, at Pekin, assured the Bishop that the fullest religious freedom would be granted to the Catholics, and that every post under Government—civil and military—would be open to them.

troubles. A favourable feature of the new situation is that, contrary to what was expected, the Republicans did not stain their victory by a massacre of the Manchu princes, and that the members of the Imperial Family accepted the honourable situation assigned to them by the victors, and have apparently no intention of attempting a counter-revolution. The real danger lies in the possibility of dissensions among the chiefs of the new Government. It is of good augury for the future that a strong man is at the head of affairs in the person of the President, Yuan-shi-kai His invitation to Dr. Morrison to act as his official adviser is a pledge that the old suspicion of the foreigner will no longer influence Chinese policy, and there is a proof that the promised toleration of Christianity was no empty formula in the fact that the Prime Minister of the first Republican Administration is a Catholic, who owes his conversion to the faith to the Belgian lady who is his wife.

It is to the presence of Christians in the Government itself that we must attribute the remarkable step taken by the new administration in asking the Christians of China to make the last Sunday of April a day of special prayer for the progress and prosperity of the nation. Under the old *régime*, although the treaties with foreign powers secured official toleration for the Christians, it was no uncommon thing for the provincial governors and the local officials to adopt a policy of underhand hostility to the missions, and connive at the organized opposition of the secret societies to them. The anti-foreign movement that culminated in the Boxer revolt had the support of the Government, and the Manchu officials regarded the underhand action of the Court at Pekin on that occasion as a fair indication of what its mind really was, and were inclined

to consider the official policy adopted after the collapse of the Boxer movement as an attitude forced upon China by the arms of the allied foreign powers. The collapse of the Manchu *régime*, and the introduction of a new policy that made the watchword of "China for the Chinese" compatible with the friendly relations with the foreigner, cleared the way for a complete abandonment of the old attitude of professed friendship and secret hostility towards the missions. And the request made by the Pekin Government for the prayers of the Christians was a public ratification of the new policy, and a recognition of the fact that the various Christian bodies were normal factors in the national life; that a Chinaman did not denationalize himself by adopting what used to be called "the foreign religion." For this great human hive of the Far East the Pekin proclamation may be compared with the Edict of Constantine—the great event of which, by a happy coincidence, the Church is now celebrating the sixteenth centenary. It marks the dividing line between a period when official hostility made the outbreak of persecution always a possibility, and the new era of something more than toleration, during which any act of persecution would be a retrograde step, and something abnormal and transient, like the attacks upon the Church of the fourth century in the countries of the Mediterranean after the publication of the epoch-making Edict.

The Pekin proclamation has drawn public attention in England to the Chinese missions, and the press has devoted considerable space to the subject—but with, in almost every case, complete silence as to the missions of the Catholic Church. This is a somewhat remarkable omission. Considering the relative importance of the Catholic and non-Catholic missions, judged by the extent of their organization

and the results actually obtained, it shows the same lack of proportion that would be displayed in an essay on the old Churches of Westminster that made no mention of the Abbey and devoted several pages to the parish church of St. Margaret. Probably this general omission of any reference to our missions is due to that strange ignorance of Catholic matters that seems to prevail in most editorial offices. There is a fairly full account of the missions to be read in a standard work of reference on China that is to be found in the offices of firms that do business in the Far East—the *China Year Book*, issued annually by Messrs. Routledge. Perhaps this useful handbook has not found its way into editorial reference libraries. But non-Catholic ignorance as to the missions in China is the less to be wondered at considering how many Catholics know practically nothing of the splendid work that our missionaries are doing in every province of the Chinese Republic, from the sea inwards up to, and even beyond, the old imperial frontiers. For there are outposts of the missions in the outlying provinces, in the passes leading to the plateau of Tibet, and along the borders of the Mongolian desert.

Just fifty years ago Marshall, in his remarkable work on "Christian Missions," asked Englishmen to face the facts as to the results obtained by the various missionary agencies of every Christian denomination, and ask themselves which of the Churches showed that power to "teach all nations" which must be the prerogative of a Church claiming to carry on the apostolic tradition. He pointed out that everywhere the results obtained by the Catholic missionary were beyond all comparison with those of the envoys of other religious organizations, although, to the honour of our non-Catholic brethren, he admitted that they placed the most ample

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resources at the disposal of their missions, and were able to find large numbers of zealous men and women to devote themselves to the work. After the fifty years since Marshall's book was published the comparison he made is still justified. China affords a striking instance of the disproportion between the results obtained by the Catholic and non-Catholic missions. Of the latter much has been said in the recent discussion of the Chinese situation in the newspapers. It is only on account of the way in which the Catholic missions have been left out of account that I propose, before dealing with their statistics, to say a few words as to those of the other missionary bodies. I have no wish to depreciate the result of their labours. While regretting, as every Catholic must regret, that so much energy is devoted to placing before the people of China a defective message, and confusing them with the spectacle of a divided Christendom, one may freely grant that, according to the measure of his knowledge, the zealous non-Catholic missionary is doing a good work. The medical missions above all give to the heathen an example of the alliance of Christian charity and European science. Men are drawn from idolatry to a knowledge of some at least of the truths of the Gospel, and to the practice of prayer, and are weaned from the superstitious vice and heartless cruelty that is so often characteristic of paganism.

In dealing with these statistics of the non-Catholic missions it must be remembered that they represent not one common creed, but a variety of systems of doctrine and practice. At one end of the scale we have the English High Churchman or the American Episcopalian teaching all Catholic doctrines except the Supremacy and Infallibility of the Pope, and making something that looks very like the Catholic

Mass the chief rite of public worship. At the other extreme there are missionaries whose communion service is the "Lord's Supper," with cups of tea instead of sacramental wine. Most missionaries baptize their converts; some hold the rite to be of no importance. Most of the missionaries teach the Divinity of Christ, but there are some who hold that he was only a greater teacher than Confucius or Lao-tse, but human as they were and nothing more.

Again, the conditions of church membership vary. Many of the missions adopt the Catholic practice of insisting on the convert going through a period of instruction and probation as a catechumen. Others are less rigid. Some of the missions divide their returns between "communicants" in full church membership and "adherents" or "enquirers." This makes it difficult to work out a total. But as a fair statement from a non-Catholic source we may take the detailed table published in the current issue of the *China Year Book* for 1913, which is based on data supplied by the missionary societies.

The figures are those of the reports issued in 1911 representing the situation at the close of 1910. Complete returns covering the whole field for a later date were not available. The total number of societies having workers in China is nearly a hundred. Most of these belong to Great Britain and the United States, but other countries are represented among them. The foreign (European and American) workers numbered 5144, and the Chinese staff numbered 15,501. Thus there were over 20,000 men and women engaged in the work of the missions.

In the summary the numbers of the Christians belonging to these missions are set forth in three columns headed "Baptized Christians," "Catechumens," and "Total." A note shows that in some of the missions what the editor of the table classes

as "catechumens" are returned as "adherents." Some of the societies do not distinguish between "baptized," "catechumens," and "adherents," but send in a general total, which is placed in the third column of the table. Several of those that return the number of baptized and catechumens give a much higher total than the sum of these two figures, showing that they count in the general aggregate numbers of people whose connection with the mission cannot be a very close one, probably enquirers, or men and women who attend sermons and services.

The figures thus arrived at are :—

Baptized Christians . . .	167,075
Catechumens	71,500
	238,575
Total Christians . . .	324,890

Of the ninety-nine agencies and societies included in the return only seven claim more than 10,000 baptized converts. These are :

Society.	Baptized.	Catechumens.	Total.
Church Missionary Society (Church of England).	19,532	4,111	23,443
London Missionary Society (Nonconformist).	15,215	7,763	22,978
Irish Presbyterian Church Missions.	11,826	2,524	14,350
Presbyterian Church of England.	10,537	...	11,521
U.S. Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.	10,802	11,091[1]	21,893
U.S. Methodist Episcopalian Mission.	20,723	18,130	60,040
U.S. Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.	18,470	1,787	20,257

[1] Returned as "adherents."

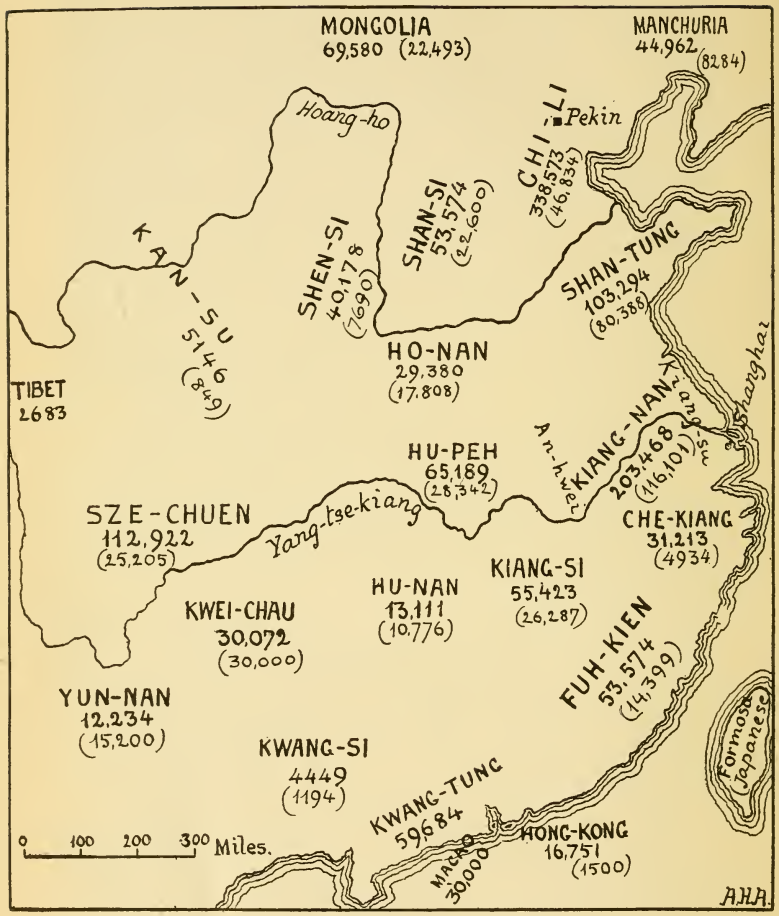
This is the result of over a century of work by a large number of agencies with the most ample funds at their disposal. But the total of baptized Christians, catechumens, and adherents of all kinds for the whole of China is less than the number of baptized Catholics in the single province of Chi-li.

At the close of 1911 the number of baptized Catholics in China was 1,363,697, and there were 390,985 catechumens under instruction and awaiting baptism, making a grand total of 1,754,682. These were grouped in 47 missionary dioceses or vicariates. There were 49 Bishops (including coadjutors), 1426 European and 701 Chinese priests, and 1215 Chinese students for the priesthood. There were besides 230 European and 135 Chinese lay-Brothers in religious houses or in teaching congregations, and 1896 nuns, of whom 1328 were Chinese women.

A table of the statistics of the various vicariates or missionary bishoprics would not convey so clear an impression to the reader as to the distribution of the Christians as the annexed outline map and the following explanations.

It will be noticed that the province which contains the largest Catholic population is Chi-li, in the north-east, which includes the capital. The province is divided into five missionary districts, one belonging to the Jesuits, the others to the Lazarist or Vincentian Fathers. In Chi-li there are many families that have been Catholic for centuries.

The next largest numbers of Catholics are those of the provinces on the lower Yang-tse, the great central waterway of China, along whose banks there is one of the densest populations in the world. On the upper river, above the famous gorges and rapids, there is the province of Sze-chuen, with more than 100,000 Catholics. The coast provinces all show large numbers, but these are smaller in the provinces



DISTRIBUTION OF THE CATHOLICS OF CHINA, 1911–12.

(The first number is that of the baptized Catholics : the second that of the catechumens.)

of the far interior, if we except Sze-chuen. Kan-su, in the far north-west, is a region of pioneer missions. The Tibetan mission on the borders of the plateau and in the frontier district of Sze-chuen, where there is a Tibetan element in the population, is an outpost, prepared to be a base of operations when the hitherto "forbidden land" of Central Asia is open for missionary work. No mission has suffered more—thanks to the persistent hostility of the lamas.

Looking at these figures on the map we must bear in mind that they represent in each unit the one faith of the Catholic Church. Here there is no question of less or more. These hundreds of thousands of men of various races, Chinese and Manchu, and men of the older tribes that once held the land, the Tibetan frontiersmen and the Lolo aborigines of Yun-nan, are one with each other and one with us in the same faith. The hundreds of thousands of catechumens are a proof that, in spite of all obstacles and difficulties, the faith is rapidly extending. Thirty years ago the baptized Catholics of China numbered 470,000. There has thus been a threefold increase in that period. Only the relatively small number of the workers in this Eastern vineyard prevents the increase being still greater, and here the growing numbers of the native clergy is a most hopeful factor. As to the outlook for the missions, the Superior General of the Franciscans, in a report on the five provinces in which his Order is at work, says that the people would come into the Church "in crowds" if there were more priests to teach them.[1]

And though the modern period of missions in China dates from the days of Matteo Ricci, who

[1] "Uti Illmi. Vicariatuum nostrorum Praesules testantur, turmatim sanctam profiterentur religionem, si sacri ministri plures, qui eos docerent et in fide conservarent, adessent, . . ." are the words of the report.

entered the country in 1583, it may be said that the great organization now existing, with its million and three-quarters of Catholics and catechumens, is the work of less than a hundred years. At the close of the eighteenth century the Catholic missions of China, built up by the devoted labour of two hundred years, were all but completely disorganized and reduced to ruin. The war waged against the Church in Europe had for one of its most disastrous effects this destruction of the missions in the most distant lands. The suppression of the Society of Jesus was the first blow. Then with the outbreak of the French Revolution, and the long period of wars that followed, there came the closing of religious houses and seminaries, the cutting off of the supply of missionaries, and the abandonment of whole provinces, where the converts left without priests drifted back into paganism, or if they kept the faith were ill instructed, and had no sacrament but baptism. The Vincentian Fathers, in the face of terrible trials, held on to Pekin and a few other places. The re-establishment of the famous Paris Seminary of Foreign Missions supplied a reinforcement for other districts. The Spanish Dominicans in the south-east, the Portuguese priests at Macao, kept the faith alive in these places. For many years the stress of repairing the ruin in Europe itself was such that little could be done for the distant missions. It was about 1830 that the reorganization of the Chinese missions really began.

The story of a single province may be briefly told here in order to give an idea of the vicissitudes of these missions, and show in how comparatively short a time the great progress of the Catholic Church in China has been secured. Kiang-si is a hilly and poor province lying between the lower bend of the Yang-tse and the ranges that divide it

from the coast districts of Fuh-kien and Kwang-tung. The Jesuits had penetrated into it and made some thousands of converts when the suppression of the Society left this scattered flock without pastors. The Lazarist Fathers some years later were able to send missionaries to take charge of Kiang-si and the neighbouring districts of Hu-nan and Hu-peh. It was a time of persecution. There were edicts in force against the "foreign religion," and then to add to the difficulty of the situation the revolutionary storm in Europe cut off the supply of missionaries from France, and for years to come the arrival of a solitary missionary in China was a great event. For a long time two or three European and as many Chinese priests formed the whole staff of the Kiang-si missions.

In 1830 it was reported that there were in the Kiang-si province 6000 Catholics, scattered in various places, so that they could be only occasionally visited by the few missionaries. In 1838 a Vicariate Apostolic was erected that included Kiang-si and the coast province of Che-kiang, and in 1846 Kiang-si became a separate vicariate. Ten years later the Lazarists estimated the Catholic population at 9000.

Then came the years of civil war and presecution when the province was overrun by the Tai-ping rebels. Numbers of Christian families were dispersed or massacred. Many of those who were spared were forcibly enrolled in the rebel armies, to be afterwards slain by the Imperialist troops. By 1862 the Catholic population had been reduced to 6000, the numbers of thirty years earlier. But with the restoration of peace the mission began again to gather in converts. By 1879 the numbers were 13,000, and the province was divided into two vicariates. In 1882 there were 16,000 Catholics. Three

years later a third vicariate was erected. The three vicariates of a province which fifty years ago, in the days of the Tai-ping troubles, had only 6000 Catholics, with many of its churches in ruins, has now under its three Bishops over 55,000 baptized Catholics and 26,000 catechumens, and a splendid organization of churches, schools, orphanages, hospitals, and other centres of apostolic work.

It is in the completeness of their organization that there is the greatest contrast between the Catholic missions of to-day and those of the difficult years in the first half of the nineteenth century, when a mere handful of devoted workers were keeping together a few thousand Christians, and painfully rebuilding the Catholicity of China amid the ruins of the revolutionary period. In those earlier days the most the isolated missionary could hope for was his chapel hidden away among the houses of a native town and a few catechists to help him. Of schools, hospitals, religious communities, and the rest, he thought only as of the possibilities of a far-off future. Even the most sanguine of those pioneers could not hope to see what has now been accomplished.

Let us take an instance of what has been done in one of the larger mission districts. The district of Kiang-nan on the lower Yang-tse has for its geographical centre the old "southern capital," Nankin, but the working centre is Shanghai. The mission includes the two provinces of Kiang-su and An-hwei. It is under the care of the Jesuits. In 1907, according to the very full statistical tables published in Father Wolferstan's *Catholic Church in China*, the mission possessed the following establishments: A scholasticate for Jesuit students preparing for the priesthood; two seminaries for the education of Chinese secular priests; the college at Zi-ka-wei, for lay students; a house for training catechists; several

high schools, and some hundreds of elementary schools. In and around Shanghai there were some sixty schools. In the interior no less than 1317 schools, of which 131 were boarding-schools for boys and 102 for girls. There were several convents, houses of the Sisters of Charity, the Little Sisters of the Poor, the "Auxiliatrices," and an Order of Chinese nuns, the "Presentandines," and finally a Carmelite convent with thirteen European and twenty-one Chinese nuns. The school teachers, besides those of the Religious Orders, were supplied by the Marist Christian Brothers (Europeans) and native Chinese schoolmasters (703) and schoolmistresses (777). There were forty-one orphanages, and, besides, more than 3000 orphans were "boarded out" in Christian families. There were four hospitals, five dispensaries, and five homes for the aged. There were also a number of workrooms and "instructional workshops" for technical training, and at Zi-ka-wei printing works turning out large numbers of books, a Chinese Catholic newspaper (bi-weekly), and a Chinese monthly magazine. Zi-ka-wei, with it observatories, laboratories, museums, and library, and its classes for the Government examinations is practically a University College.

As for the steady growth of Catholicity on the Kiang-nan mission the following figures show the results obtained by these agencies :

Date.	Baptized Catholics.	Increase.
1861	77,418	In 40 years (1861–1901) 50,421.
1881	99,154	
1901	127,839	
1907	164,088	In 10 years (1901–1911) 75,529.
1911	203,468	

So that the increase for ten years after 1901 was fifty per cent. greater than in the forty years before that date.

Kiang-nan is perhaps the most completely equipped mission, but in every province there has been in these fifty years a marvellous building up of the mission organization. This has been rendered possible partly by contributions from the Catholic world, partly by the alms of the Chinese converts themselves. But all these resources would have been utterly inadequate but for what is the greatest factor of all in the growth of our missions—the self-denying lives of those who devote themselves to the actual work. It would be easy to multiply the testimonies of non-Catholic travellers to the actual facts. They note with wonder that everywhere they find the Catholic priests living the lives of the poorest of the native Chinese. A sum roughly equivalent to about £20 is the largest annual allowance made to a missionary in China for his personal expenses. He can live on this by adopting Chinese clothing, lodging, and diet. The Catholic missionary becomes one of the people he seeks to convert. His business is not to make Chinamen into Europeans, but to make pagans into Catholics, and he is drawn nearer to them by sharing all that is hard in the lives of the poorest among them. He does not attempt to set up a European household in the Far East. And he does not look forward to a pension and a comfortable retirement in Europe or America. He dies among his people. So far as money counts, the Catholic missions of China are very poor. But they are rich beyond measure with a wealth no money could ever purchase —the absolute self-devotion of hundreds of men and women who give all their lives to the good work for the love of Him whose work it is, and looking only to Him for their reward.

The Protestant traveller telling of his meetings with Catholic missionaries in the inland provinces of China generally describes them as "Jesuits"—an unconscious tribute to the great part the Society of Jesus has played in the mission work of the Church since the days of St. Francis Xavier. But in China the Jesuits are actually at work in only three provinces, An-whei and Kiang-su (Kiang-nan Mission), and one of the five vicariates of Chi-li in the north. The greater part of the mission field in China is supplied with workers by two other Orders, and the priests of the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris. The Vincentians (or Lazarists), who so splendidly took the place of the old Jesuit missionaries in the darkest days for Catholicity in China, have now for their field of work the greater part of Chi-li (including the capital) and the two south-eastern provinces of Kiang-si and Che-kiang. Of Kiang-si something has already been said. In Chi-li thirty years ago the Lazarists had two vicariates and 52,000 Catholics (counting only those baptized). But in 1911 there were 259,000 baptized Catholics in four vicariates.[1] In and around Pekin there are some thousands who are the descendants of converts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Most of the clockmakers of the capital are Catholics. The industry was introduced among their converts by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century, and has been handed down from father to son in these old Christian families. It is from Catholics with a record of at least three generations

[1] With reference to the rapid increase of conversions in Chi-li since the Boxer revolt of 1900, a French Vincentian Father tells me that among the converts are a large number of men who took part in the movement, some of them being actual participators in the massacre of the Christians and in the siege of the Legations and of the Pekin Cathedral. "No doubt," he charitably added, "they acted in good faith. They had been deluded into the belief that Catholicity was something horrible, that every good patriot in China should try to root out by any means."

of the faith that the Catholic priesthood of China is being recruited. In Che-kiang, though the number of Catholics is smaller, the increase in the last thirty years has been proportionally even greater. The 5000 Catholics of 1881 are now represented by more than 31,000.

In Northern and Central China the sons of St. Francis are evangelizing several provinces—the hilly province of Shan-si (*i.e.* "the western mountains"), where the ridges that give the district its name force the Hoang-ho to make its great southward bend; North Shen-si on the other side of the river; the whole of Hu-peh and the south of Hu-nan in the heart of China. In Shan-si in thirty years the Catholics have increased from 15,500 to over 53,000. In Hu-peh from 21,000 to over 65,000. In the Franciscan missions of China in the year ending October 4, 1912, the baptisms of adult converts numbered 10,260. And there is proof of the solid Christian training given to the Chinese Catholics in the fact that the Franciscans had in the same year in their various missions nearly 6000 lay members of the Third Order of St. Francis.

Five great provinces in south-eastern China, besides the Northern mission of Manchuria and pioneer outposts of the frontier of Tibet, are in the hands of the *Pères des Missions Étrangères.* Jules Ferry once said that anti-clericalism was all very well as the Liberal policy in France, but "was not an article for exportation." So even the present anti-clerical government in Paris has spared the famous seminary of missions in the Rue du Bac, the house from which in the last hundred years more men have gone to martyrdom in the Far East than from any other place in the world. Catholics who visit Paris might well neglect some other "show places" to visit this school of apostleship and martyr-

dom. No one who has ever seen its *Salle des Martyrs* can ever forget the impression. There are kept the relics of the martyrs of Tonkin, Korea, and China, things that belonged to them, in many instances the chains they wore, the instruments with which they were done to death. There is the little chalice that was used by the martyr Bishop, Mgr. Borie, during his missionary journeys in Central China. He was put to death in the most cruel way that the ingenuity of Eastern torturers could devise—tied to a stake and slowly cut to pieces. In the last days before he departs for the missions of China the young priest of the seminary says a Mass at which he is allowed to use the martyr's chalice. One does not wonder that men inspired by such traditions are doing good work in the Far East. The marvel is that a single seminary is able to supply so large a field, and steadily to recruit its students from one European country. This fact alone should forbid any fears as to the future of religion in France.

The largest number of Catholics in any one province of these French missions is found in Sze-chuen, where the 80,000 Catholics of thirty years ago have increased to over 112,000. The most rapid increase in proportion to the numbers involved has been in Kwang-si. In 1881 the mission was still in the pioneer stage, with only 754 baptized Catholics. There are now close on 4500. The vigorous efficiency of this group of missions is shown by the fact that in the twelve months 1911–12 there were 10,523 baptisms of adults. In Yun-nan many converts have been made among the aboriginal Lolo tribes. In the hill districts on the Tibetan frontier there is the nucleus of the future Church of Tibet, the country into which no missionary has penetrated since the Lazarist, Father Huc, was expelled from Lhassa in 1846.

Other missionary bodies at work in China are the Dominicans in Fuh-kien, the Augustinians in Northern Hu-nan, the priests of the Milan Mission Seminary in Ho-nan, the German and Dutch missionaries of Steyl in South Shan-tung, the missionaries of the Roman Seminary in South Shen-si, and the Belgians of the Missionary Seminary of Scheut in Kan-su, Kuldja, and Mongolia. In every one of these missions a comparison of past and present figures shows an ever-increasing flow of conversions. Thus, for instance, in the missions of Mongolia the Belgian missionaries of Scheut had thirty years ago thirty-two priests (all Europeans) and 13,000 baptized Catholics. Up to 1911 the increase in the number of Catholics was nearly 57,000, the total in charge of the missionaries being in that year 69,580. The number of priests had risen to 168, of whom thirty-nine belonged to the native clergy.[1]

It will be noticed that in this enumeration of the missionaries of China we hear of Frenchmen, Spaniards, Italians, Dutchmen, Belgians, and Germans all engaged in the good work, but no Chinese mission has its base of operations and its recruiting ground for workers in the English-speaking countries. English is the language which has become the commercial *lingua franca* of the East, and English-speaking recruits for the Chinese mission field would be most valuable helpers. Here and there one of them is to be found, but there are not a score in the whole of China.

The limits of this article prevent anything more than a general survey of the subject. Many interesting aspects of it must be passed by. Much might be said of the widespread work of rescue of abandoned

[1] It is interesting to note that "retreat houses" have been established in these Mongolian missions, in which, in a single year, more than 900 men made retreats.

children carried on in so many of the Chinese cities ; of the influence of Catholic educational work even among non-Christians, of the valuable contributions to science made by the missionaries, of the special difficulties they have to contend with, and of the problems of mission policy ; and, again, it would be interesting to cite the testimonies of non-Catholics to the good work accomplished.[1] I have tried to apply in this brief survey the test of statistics, in order to show how great a harvest has already been gathered in, and how as the years go on the results of the labours of our missionaries are more and more abundant. I have been able to deal only with the statistics of China and its outlying provinces, but there is an immense number of Chinese Catholics outside this wide region. There is a continual emigration of Chinese to other Asiatic countries and to America. Many of these emigrants are Catholics, and in many places they form fairly large congregations. In several of these places Chinese-speaking priests have been sent from the missions to care for them. But it is not possible to make an exact estimate of their numbers.

[1] Take, for instance, the words of a man who had probably a more complete and intimate knowledge of China than any other European. At a Wesleyan missionary meeting here in England in the autumn of 1908, Sir Robert Hart said : "Although many of those present may not agree with me, I cannot omit, on an occasion such as this, to refer to the admirable work done by the Roman Catholic missionaries, among whom are to be found the most devoted and self-sacrificing of Christ's followers. The Roman Catholic missionaries have done great work, both in spreading the knowledge of one God and of one Saviour, and more especially in their self-sacrifice in the cause of deserted children and afflicted adults. Their organization as a society is far ahead of any other, and they are second to none in zeal and self-sacrifice personally. One strong point in their arrangements is in the fact that there is never a break in continuity, while there is perfect unity in teaching and practice, and practical sympathy with their people in both the life of this world and the preparation for eternity. The Roman Catholics were the first in the field ; they are the most widely spread, and they have the largest number of followers."

It is often argued that even the progress so far accomplished must count for little in comparison to the enormous field of operations before the missionaries; that even a million and three-quarters of converts are but a handful among the 350 millions of China, and the conversion of the country is an impossible task. But we must remember our Lord's words of the leaven that was to leaven the great mass, and not forget the small beginnings of Christendom in the whole world. In China the time of difficult beginnings is past. The fire that at first flickered here and there as if on the verge of failing is now spreading more and more rapidly and widely. Look back, for instance, at the typical facts already given for the Kiang-nan Mission. Here, if the rate of increase in the last ten years had been the same as the average of the previous four decades, it would have been only 12,500 instead of over 75,000. Another indication of more rapid progress may be seen in the vast number of catechumens preparing for baptism. A few years of peace and stable government will mean for our Chinese missions such a rapid extension as has been rarely seen in the whole history of the Church.

APPENDIX

SINCE the foregoing account of the Catholic Missions of China appeared in the *Month* (June 1913), my attention has been called to a passage in chapter v. of Professor H. A. Giles's little work on the *Civilization of China*, published in the Home University Library. In this passage the Professor treats the allegation that female infanticide is practised in China as "an atrocious libel," and argues that the prevalent belief to the contrary is based on misstatements and misconceptions as to the actual facts. The point is important, because orphanages for the rescue of abandoned children are part of our mission organization in many of the Chinese provinces, and the Confraternity of the Holy Childhood exists in Europe for the express purpose of finding money for the support of this rescue work. If Professor Giles's view is correct, we would have to conclude that for more than sixty years the devoted men and women who carry on the work of our missions have been deliberately lying as to the condition of things in China, and fraudulently collecting alms on the basis of fictitious statement.

Indeed, Sir Hiram Maxim in *Li Hung Chang's Scrap-book* (1913) in so many words charges the missionaries with spreading and persisting in a falsehood, and tells of a French missionary cynically replying to a remonstrance on the subject, "That *petite histoire* brings us over a million francs a year; it is the best asset we have."

It would be easy to quote abundant evidence as to the prevalence of infanticide and child abandonment from the reports of missionaries (Protestant as well as Catholic) and from the writings of

travellers in China. I confine myself to this last kind of evidence. The late Sir Robert Douglas (one of the highest authorities on everything that relates to China) tells us that "a law exists in the statute-book making infanticide a crime, but, as a matter of fact, it is never acted upon, and in some parts of the country, more especially in the provinces of King-si and Fuh-kien, this most unnatural offence prevails among the poorer classes to an alarming extent. Not only do the people acknowledge the existence of the practice, but they even go the length of defending it. . . . Periodically the mandarins inveigh against the inhumanity of the offence, and appeal to the better instincts of the people to put a stop to it; but a stone which stands near a pool outside the city of Foo-chow, bearing the inscription, 'Girls may not be drowned here,' testifies with terrible emphasis to the futility of their praiseworthy endeavours" (*China, Manners and Customs*, pp. 91–92).

Sir Henry Norman (*Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, pp. 289–291) gives detailed facts as to the practice, including statements published in the English press in China during his travels there. Professor Legge (*Religions of China*, p. 111) says that though the practice does not exist to the extent sometimes represented, "it meets you in most parts of the empire."

These are only a few out of many witnesses. Their definite statements, corroborating those of the missionaries, are a sufficient reply to Professor Giles's elaborate argument that the thing is incredible.

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